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THE MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME-MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED; WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, SOME LETTERS OF HENRY THE GREAT

AND

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA:

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XIV.

1603.

I. Troubles at Metz: Henry goes thither and banishes the Soboles; other affairs transacted in this journey. Memorial against the cardinal d'Ossat: examination of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal. Affairs of the Low Countries. Intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calvinists.—II. Death of the queen of England. James I, accession of. Henry's return: his conversation with Rosny upon the death of Elizabeth: resolves to send Rosny ambassador to London: deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embassy. Indisposition of the king.—III. Public and private instructions given to Rosny: his departure with a numerous retinue. Character of young Servin. Rosny embarks at Calais; insulted by the vice-admiral of England: his reception at Dover, Canterbury, &c.; he is received into London with the highest honours: his severity in the affair of Combaut. State of the political affairs of Great Britain: character of the English: of king James: of the queen, &c.—IV. Several factions in the English court. Rosny's conferences with the English counsellors; with the deputies of the States General; with the resident from Venice, &c.; he obtains his first audience: his concern at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

I. THE city of Metz had been, for some time, shaken with those intestine divisions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke d'Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole country of Messin, had placed Sobole* and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made such an ill use of their authority, that they were soon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was strengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was such a general

* Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gascony.

outcry amongst the citizens and country people, against the lieutenants, that d'Epernon was obliged to go himself to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to reconcile them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refused to furnish the troops with provisions, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some disputes had also risen concerning a certain Provençal prisoner at Vitry, which, through rancour and desire of revenge, occasioned several other matters less considerable; and these heats had already proceeded so far as to make a revolt be apprehended.

The duke d'Epernon was soon convinced that the two Soboles* had not justice on their side, at least with regard to the first complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occasion of a quarrel, with no other view than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and thus to make themselves masters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have some difficulty to support himself in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

Things were in this state when the king received advice of what was doing at Metz: he sent me notice that he would come to the arsenal to confer with me,

* Sobole accused the inhabitants of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to surrender the place to the king of Spain. This accusation appeared to be false. Vie du Duc d'Epernon, p. 217.

and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him and six other persons whom he should bring with him. When he came, he made me follow him alone into the great store-houses of artillery and arms, and, beginning, as usual, to talk about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from the duke d'Epernon a citadel, which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a supposition that the king should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having, in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance, than he could expect from d'Epernon. It was probable, at least, that some favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorrain to France, and in that case it imported his majesty highly to go himself in person, and procure a perfect knowledge of this state, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewise would be of use to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the princes of Germany, and of sounding their incli-

nations with respect to the house of Austria, to know if he might expect any assistance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to each other, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us, that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the dresses of his guards (for about this time they were to be all new clothed) were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroi, among his secretaries of state, to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his route by La-Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont: the court stopped at Verdun and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Fresne-en-Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience, not but Sobole, who was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends: but the most prudent amongst them re-

presented to him, that if he engaged in such a design, he would be irretrievably ruined; so that submitting to the arret for his banishment, he gave up the citade! without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny* to be his lieutenant in this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that every thing seemed to be done with his consent.

I have taken the whole of this detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all the incidents; but dwelt longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which he said was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth any thing; he likewise told me, that he wished for my presence in

* Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was chief steward of the household to Henry III, governor of Berry, Blois, &c. knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, camp-master-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messin, Toul, and Verdun, and lastly, marshal of France; he died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governer of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miscalled by some, John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marshal de Montigny.

that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that, before six days, he should put every thing in such good order as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition, that obliged him to take some medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought was occasioned by a cold. The dutchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the sixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty staid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiselle de Rohan and the young duke de Deux-Ponts;* in composing a difference between the cardinal of Lorrain, and the prince of Brandenbourg,† concerning the bishopric of Strasbourg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquillity to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry became so revered in this country, that several sovereign princes of Germany took a resolution to go thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors,

* John second, duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderscheidt, the Catholic bishop of Strasbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorrain obtained this bishopric of the pope; and the Protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenbourg, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. See the historians, Bassompierre's Memoirs vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up a longer time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. The cardinal of Lorrain, the duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenbourg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest the Rhine, were the only persons who went thither.

The Jesuits, who ever since their banishment had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun,* supported by la-Varenne, who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of the

* The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial Châteiller, Brossard, and la-Tour, introduced by la-Varenne, came on Wednesday in Passion-week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admission into France. Henry IV would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recal them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I "will have you with me," added he, "for I think you useful to the public, "and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronolog. Sept. anno 1603. MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu. vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

princess Catherine, the king's sister, is one proof of it; and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that pursued by the council.

D'Ossat, by printing his letters, which prove the truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not to be solicitous about concealing his true sentiments from the public; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have suggested to him, he deserves still greater reproaches for having endeavoured, both in his discourse and in his writings, to give a bad impression of the king and his ministers. When removed from the centre of business, all the informations he could obtain must be through the means of wretches, to whom a man of sense and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this passage tends partly to justify myself against the censures of d'Ossat, he having about this time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not scruple to attribute marshal Biron's rebellion, and the discontent of the other French lords, to the very little satisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppression the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counsellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himself upon his nice discernment in affairs of state, presumed, by desiring Villeroi to show his letter to the king, to advise his majesty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands.

Possibly, if this proceeding of d'Ossat were thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than mistake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the states in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a very considerable gratuity from him; and lastly, that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had been farther relieved by his majesty, by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I was not unacquainted with any of d'Ossat's malicious proceedings, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of the cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome, among others d'Ossat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I

sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at the court of Rome. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better answer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an incontestable proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me: that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expedite no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and in the postscript of my letter, gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of d'Ossat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my just indignation, I called the cardinal both ungrateful and imprudent, epithets which, if what I heard of him was true, he deserved; if false, I gave Villeroi to understand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of d'Ossat. He was still more alarmed by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I consented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Ossat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I shall resume this subject in a proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce d'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me

from Rome against him. At present, what remains to be said of him regards the coadjutorship of Baieux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair were worth a long detail; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader, that d'Ossat procured himself to be made coadjutor of Baieux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons, that they should lose nothing by it, since they obtained an equivalent upon the bishopric of Evreux. Villeroi earnestly solicited his majesty for d'Ossat, and endeavoured to engage my interest for his friend: Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him.

During the king's absence, the pope's nuncio made another complaint to me on the journey his majesty had just undertaken. The reason of his holiness's meddling on this occasion, was, that Spain, Savoy, and their partisans, uniting to the ideas they had conceived respecting the motives of this journey, those which they entertained of the armaments and treasures of the king, which report had greatly exaggerated, they had inspired the holy father also with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to remove them, without troubling myself about undeceiving either Spain or Savoy.

His majesty and I treated, by letters, of many different affairs, and amongst others of those of Flanders. It was computed that, by the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend; nevertheless the siege was but

very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Boisleduc, not considering that this enterprise exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Boisleduc with so small a number of troops as he had. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the satisfaction of driving the Spaniards out of the castle of Vactendonck, where they were, in a manner, already masters. The garrison of this place, too weak to resist them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the castle to their discretion, when they were joined by some Dutch troops, who passed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and dislodged them from the castle.

It may be easily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expense both of men and money, to which it was absolutely necessary that France should continue to contribute. The siege of Ostend alone had cost them one hundred thousand vollies of cannon, and seven thousand men. His majesty, for the interest of both the powers, kept Buzenval* in those provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent sent by

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

the states to the king was named Aërsens,* this agent represented to me, that his countrymen would be soon in no condition to keep the field, unless his majesty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their service with Frenchmen. The king sent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this request, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he consented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon these conditions, that it should be Aërsens himself who should raise the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in such a manner, as to draw upon him some reproaches from the king of Spain: that the recruits should be raised with the utmost expedition and the utmost secrecy; and that the soldiers who listed, the number of which he desired to know, should file off, without any noise, to the place where they were to embark, marching six in a company at most, with no other arms than their swords, and no more money than was necessary to defray their expenses till they got there; that they should take shipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this last city being too much crowded with foreigners; and that notice should be sent to Chastes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vic, whose concurrence was necessary

* Francis Aërsens, resident and afterwards ambassador from the states of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time represent him as a man of a subtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu speaks of him, Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiscardt, chancellor of Montferat, as the only three politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received opinion of that time," says Amelot de la Houssaye, "that Henry IV had an amour with Aërsens' wife, "and that the husband was content with it, by reason of the profit he "reaped from it: this amour laid the foundation of his fortune. He left "100,000 livres a year to his son, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

to the design, and for whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle with it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders, and, for fear they should enlist with the archduke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As to the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

During his majesty's stay at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electress: he prevailed upon the elector to undertake his justification to Henry,* or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majesty sent me immediately, to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unseasonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to represent to him the great affliction it gave the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity suspected by the king, and to assure him that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterwards gave him notice by la Tremouille that he should at least stop at Sedan; but Bouillon had done neither the one or the other; the Palatine, therefore, to excuse the duke, alleged, that with regard to the first complaint, the quality

* History of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentlemen who had brought his majesty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and wait for his majesty at Sedan; but that thinking it necessary to take his rout through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and also to pay his respects to the elector and the electress, his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiving his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which, the elector brought as a proof the connexion there was between them.

Henry answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always done, to restore the duke of Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man named du-Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been sent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with dispatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to set out from Longjumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even to du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to pass through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the answer to Tremouille's dispatches,

whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majesty would not have entered into so circumstantial an account of this affair, but that he wished (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arrest this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he should have received letters in that city, which would fully discover the nature of his commission.

His majesty had certainly no occasion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too rashly, that the submission which appeared in that step he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only dissembled with a view to two things; the first was to inspire the king with a security in regard to his person, and the second to continue to draw from him those sums which for a long time he had regularly received for the support of his fortresses. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly displeased. His majesty recommended it earnestly to me, to pay no regard to the solicitations that were made me from Bouillon, but at the same time, to give him no reason to suspect that I had any knowledge of what he had just related to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongst the Protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed; after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of

Henry, I found means at last to set him at peace, by showing him, that however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual struggles, fall to nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet those aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private one's ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say farther, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment: allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortresses, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

II. The king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of queen Elizabeth, which was sent to him by the count de Beaumont,* our ambassador at London: his majesty, thereupon, resolved to hasten his departure from Metz. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused

* Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices, which he expected to receive concerning the health of the queen of England. The death* of this great queen, which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and Henry in particular, who could not hope to find in the successor of Elizabeth, the same favourable disposition to all his designs, which were entertained by this princess, "the irreconcileable enemy of his irreconci-

* Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 45th of her reign. The public report, and the common opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-reproach for being the cause of the earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shown the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus, and some others, say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say that, like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere decay of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign:* nevertheless, I acquiesce in the eulogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spoke Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish; she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Hen. IV, La Septennaire, an. 1603. Mémoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209, and other French historians. [For a particular, and most interesting account of the illness and death of Elizabeth, see Sir Robert Carey's Memoirs, p. 116, et seq; and, for some conjectures on the cause of the queen's melancholy, see Birch's Negociat. p. 206.]

* Who but a Roman Catholic, and one the most bigotted, could have the boldness to assert that the lustre of Elizabeth's reign was tarnished by her having embraced and protected throughout her dominions the pure and mild doctrines of Protestantism, rather than the errors and absurdities of the Roman church? As to the laws, as Dr. Birch justly observes, "which "she enacted and executed against the Catholics, they were not at all in- "tended against their profession, as a scheme of superstition, but were a "necessary security to her person and government, which had been pro- "scribed by the pope, and attacked both privately and publicly by his bi- "gotted followers."

"leable enemies, and a second self:" such were the terms which he made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

His majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew were most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose, (I repeat his words,) and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negociated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which he said I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint Germaine-en-laye, to Fontainebleau, which completed a tour of almost two months.

I had received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too

well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him extremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Monglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and inquired more particularly of me about his buildings* at Saint Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arsenal, and for other works, of which I had the inspection and conduct, and which had been partly the subjects of those letters I had received from him; therein he had also directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to the apartment of the Louvre, called *The Hall of Antiquities.*

After I had, in a concise but satisfactory manner, replied to all these articles, the king took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered some of his guards to be placed. The embassy to England was the sole subject of our conversation. His majesty had at first imparted to his court his resolution to send this embassy, but without naming the person whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited some murmurs among the partisans of the pope and Spain; and it was said, that Henry sought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majesty, notwithstanding, declared publicly his intention to invest me with this employment, their dis-

* Henry IV built the new castle of Saint Germain, extended its gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terraces.

gust then showed itself without restraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reason to think was made up of my most inveterate enemies, boldly represented to his majesty, that to send a Huguenot to treat concerning the interest of the kingdom, with a prince of the same religion, would be highly dangerous to the state; and more especially so, were he entrusted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majesty to revoke my nomination, they contented themselves with getting my commission confined only to condolances upon the death of the late queen, and compliments on the accession of the new king; or, at most to an inspection into the state of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer on the principal occasion of my journey.

Henry at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view: and he further confirmed this his resolution, by judiciously observing, that an embassy, whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony, would be useless and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new king of England pursue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would doubtless, depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its ancient partisans: but he confessed to me, that this point appeared to him, in all respects, so extremely difficult, that unless it were managed with

the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me, in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile of la Riviere's, which he often used, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtile poisons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to turn them both to the best advantage, by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and perhaps to a necessity of revenging them: and as to the more secret propositions, which, at proper opportunity, I should make to king James, he said it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid hastening, by any imprudent step, his engagements with Spain, which, as yet, were perhaps uncertain, or, at least, far from being concluded. His majesty supposed that all causes of dissatisfaction might be obviated, as much as it was possible, by giving me in writing, and in open council, such instructions in regard to my embassy, as should appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, should not prevent my seconding his majesty's more particular intentions,

whenever a favourable opportunity might present; provided, nevertheless, that I did it as of myself, and without giving the king of England to understand, that I was authorised therein by the king my master.

What his majesty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of such great consequence, that I desired him to grant me four days to consider of it, before I gave him my answer. I immediately set out post for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflections, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I easily persuaded myself to comply with the king's desires, but I thought it a necessary precaution to have his majesty's more immediate avowal and authority for all those propositions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myself, without which I thought it would be risking too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the best claim: but I was sensible, that by this I should be obliged to break through those bounds of circumspection, which, in France, I had prescribed to myself, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reason to doubt but that, whatever words might escape me, which in this respect should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive, that something of this kind would be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill-humour; and sometimes one of these moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune

which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

All these considerations confirmed me in a resolution, not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty, and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the king of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and to show that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arsenal to receive my answer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying, that I was full of fears lest any part of my conduct, on this occasion should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

We were at this instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal occasioned him a moment's reflection, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear to the king of England and his ministers, so zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them assurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propositions which

I was to make this prince were also enumerated, but I shall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand design: I was also directed to desire the king of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further (supposing king James approved them) I should feign to defer communicating to the king my master what might be agreed upon between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably received by the northern powers, and the states-general of the United Provinces, as by his Britannic majesty.

Such was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the king, on his side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the king of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the most of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in the council, scarcely permitted us to think even of this.

In regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up, till he reached Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on occasion of a violent disorder, which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau,

which was about the twentieth of May:* this was so violent a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dispatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message: "My friend, "I find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable God "will soon dispose of me; and it being my duty, next "to the care of my soul, to make the necessary dispo- "sitions to secure the succession to my children, that "their reign may be prosperous, and may promote the "happiness of my wife, my kingdom, my good and "faithful servants, and my dear people, whom I love "equally with my own children, I desire to confer with "you on all these matters: come to me, therefore, with "all diligence, and say nothing of it to any one; make "an appearance only of going to the conventicle at "Ablon; and having privately ordered post-horses to "be in readiness there, proceed immediately to this "place."

* The king, says the marshal de Bassompierre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the Journal de l'Etoile) the result of their consultations was in these terms: *Abstineat a quavis muliere, etiam regina; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

The perusal of this letter most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed; the queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and said, "My good friend, draw near and embrace me, I am "extremely glad you are come; is it not strange that, "two hours after I wrote to you, my excessive pains "should begin to abate! I hope, by degrees, they will "entirely leave me, for I have made water three times, "the last most profusely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This," said he, "of all "my servants, is he who best understands, and is most "careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, "had I been taken from you, would have been best "able to serve both you and my children: I know, "indeed, that his temper is somewhat austere, that he "is often rather too plain for such a spirit as yours, "and that, on this account, many have endeavoured to "prejudice you and my children against him, that he "might be removed from you; but if ever this event "should happen, and you should employ such and such "persons (naming them softly in her ear) and, instead "of following the good counsels of this man, should be "wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon it, it "will prove destructive to the state, and may, perhaps, "ruin my children and yourself. I have sent thus sud-"denly for him, that with him and you, I might consult "upon the means to prevent those evils; but I thank God "my precautions will probably not yet be necessary."

Couriers were the next day dispatched to all parts, to dissipate the disagreeable rumours which were already spread every where. I did not myself return to

Paris, till I had seen the king make water: he would have it so, and he did it twice with such facility, that I was perfectly satisfied all danger was over. Three days after I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in the left arm by la Riviere the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and having rested well the whole night, found himself grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the interest I seemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occasion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promised to observe what I had said. He was already able to be as circumstantial as usual in those details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to send two hundred crowns to each of the persons afflicted with the evil, whom his own disorder had prevented him from touching, and whom, nevertheless, he would not send back. Herein also, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had sent him. His majesty's physicians were unanimous, on this occasion, in making him the same representations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exercise in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himself considerably better for it: he also received great benefit from the waters of Pogues, which he drank this year for some time, during which the young princess his daughter was taken so ill, that her life was despaired of; both the king and the dauphin his son went frequently to see her.

Together with this letter from his majesty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order,

upon the affairs of England. In this he informed me, that his majesty had sent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; also that I was expected by his Britannic majesty, who attributed my delay to the king's indisposition, and to the baron de Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James the first* to the crown of England. The baron du Tour was, for this purpose, sent by James to his most Christian majesty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himself of his commission. Villeroi further informed me, that, for these reasons, my departure for England being no longer to be deferred, the king would soon send for me, and inform me of the day: but his majesty changed his intention in this respect, and came himself to Paris. The heat which had begun early this year was excessive, and rendered the sands of Fontainebleau insupportable to one but just recovering from sickness.

* On James's accession to the crown of England, the marquis of Rosny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, at that time his ambassador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully.

To the Scots Ambassador.

"SIR,

"The interest you have in the prosperity of the affairs of the king of "Scotland, joined to the desire I have to do you service, have induced "me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have just received from "the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed of the decease of the "queen of England, of the accession, reception, and acknowledgment "of the king of Scotland, to that crown, and that all things there are "in a state of peace and tranquillity; for which I rejoice with you, it "being highly beneficial to all, and the desire of every good man.

"Sir, your most humble cousin and servant."

(Signed) ROSNY.

III. Two days after his majesty's arrival at Paris, he assembled the chancellor Bellievere, Villeroi, Maisse, and Sillery, on the subject of my departure, and that I might receive my public instructions in their presence. When I entered the king's closet, where this council was held, I told his majesty that the count of Soissons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me necessary that he likewise should be introduced, to be a witness of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had just said, he would take occasion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soissons' resentment still subsisted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reason to expect from me; he thanked me for it, assured me that he would forget the past, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in these sentiments.

The principal object of these instructions was throughout a close alliance between France and England against Spain, notwithstanding all that might be done to prevent it by the partisans of that crown in France. The principal difference between them, and the secret instructions which I had received from his majesty, was, that in the former he had not concealed the true motives for this alliance: I will not transcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumstantial. The substance of them was briefly as follows: to take every opportunity of discoursing upon, and informing the king of England of, all the unjust and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inspire him with an aversion to that power: to represent the

various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new usurpations in Italy; her secret practices in England, by means of the Jesuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the sanction of the authority which the pope pretends to have over those kingdoms; her designs upon Strasburgh, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to consent to the pope's giving the co-adjutorship of it to the brother-in-law of the Catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain universal monarchy; all which did but too evidently appear.

In consequence of these representations, the king of England must either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or secret war against her: in the first case, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get possession of the Low Countries: after which, she would not fail to turn her arms either against France or England; and most probably against the latter, on account of the pope's long hatred of it. I was also to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report industriously spread by Spain, that she had no intention to get possession of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a distinct kingdom, such as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the archduke. As a last resource, I was to insist, that Spain should at least be made to purchase this peace at a high price, or should be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and especially that she should give up Ostend. In case an open war should be resolved upon, I was to endeavour to discover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if possible prevent it, and represent to him the necessity of beginning by affording a powerful assistance to the States.

Finally, if a secret war was resolved upon, in which I was to use my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this case I was to represent to him, that prudence required he should begin by strengthening himself upon the throne, securing it to his descendants, and by engaging Europe in his interests; so that Spain might be one day irresistibly attacked: that till this was effected, it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitless employment of her forces against Flanders: that in the mean time the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, should not be declared till they had begun the execution of their designs. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the succours which were provisionally to be given the States, and to prevent the English council from demanding the three hundred thousand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, least they might thereby be induced to throw themselves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to persuade his Britannic majesty to be at new expenses equal with his most Christian majesty, in favour of these people, and to assist them with the same number of ships as queen Elizabeth had done; also to obtain permission, that the four hundred and fifty thousand livres, which that queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies should require in Flanders; and that three hundred thousand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the seven hundred and fifty thousand livres which Henry obliged himself to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thousand livres for the

present necessities of the States-General. In case I could not gain a compliance with these articles, I was to endeavour to obtain a discharge of the three hundred thousand livres which the States owed to England, France engaging to pay that sum; also, to manage this affair in such a manner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as securities for these succours; and to sound his intentions in regard to those of which he was already possessed in Zealand. In pursuance of this plan, I was to consult with Barnevelt, to act in concert with him and the States deputies at London, seem attached to their interests, entertain them with agreeable hopes, persuade them that their interests were the care of the British council, without giving umbrage to that council, and make the best advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

These were the principal points in my instructions: there were some others which did not relate to the same subject, or at least not immediately; such was that in regard to the piracies of the English. I was charged to complain that since the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a dissolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being disadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the same privileges and immunities in England that the English had in France. The close union between Elizabeth and Henry had caused all things to be equal on both sides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then considered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders

were, however, to be extremely circumspect on this head, and even to suppress it entirely, if I found that by introducing it I might run any risk of raising a suspicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herself had not been exempt, that France only sought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which she would then easily extricate herself. If what the baron du-Tour had said in France, of his Britannic majesty's resolution to succour Ostend, should appear to be well-grounded, I might then spare myself part of these precautions.

The manner in which I was to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Spain and the archdukes; the attention which I was to bestow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the justification of Beaumont, against whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the same privileges from this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: these were other articles of my instructions. There was one article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in respect to whom I was to be silent, unless the king of England should speak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this case I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may observe, that the subject of my negociations were sufficiently extensive, for I was to gain a knowledge of the dispositions of the king and people of England, not only with respect to Spain and Flanders, but also to the northern powers: to say the truth, the political state of all Europe was concerned in my ensuing conduct and its consequences.

These instructions,* in which his majesty had added to my other titles that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in presence of the count of Soissons, Sillery, and Jeannin, signed by his majesty and Villeroi. Henry also gave me six letters, one from his majesty to the king of England, besides another for the same prince for form-sake countersigned; two others, in the same manner, from the king to the queen of England, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majesty also gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewise secretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of the king, he presented me his hand to kiss, then embraced me, and wished me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good success.

I set out for Calais, in the beginning of June where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man

* The original of these instructions, signed by Henry the Fourth's own hand, is still extant; as also another piece, written by M. de Rosny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroi, according to his desire, to assist him in preparing my instructions.* This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embassy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

was in the right: for what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him acquainted with almost every thing that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself master of whatever he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared; he had a genius for poetry, and had written many verses; he played upon almost all instruments, was a perfect master of music, and sung most agreeably and justly; he likewise could say mass; for he was of a disposition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well

suited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all exercises; he could ride well, and in dancing, wrestling, and leaping, he was admired: there are no games of recreation that he did not know; and he was skilled in almost all mechanic arts. But now for the reverse of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard, and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society; the truth of which he himself evinced with his latest breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glass in his hand, cursing and denying God!

From the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majesty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I used only the common character; my general cyphers I used for such matters as were to be known only to the council; and my secret cypher I employed in what I addressed to the king himself, which was to be seen only by him: his majesty chose to have the greatest part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering so great, that he at last entrusted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himself well skilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myself in the use of this cypher, whenever I wanted to descend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my letters: however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after

the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negociations with king James.

I staid a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral* of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambassador from the archdukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprises of the English cruizers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I embarked on the 15th of June, at six in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility: but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of showing the English his resentment at

* Dominic De-Vic, seigneur d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice-admiral of France: he died in 1610.

the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant-mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I represented: and I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty guns were immediately pointed against De-Vic's ship.* It was with great difficulty that I

* Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whose testimony is of great weight here, more especially as they agree in it, both say, that the captain of the English ship in which de Rosny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I suspect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have somewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above mentioned: "De-Vic, vice-admiral of France, soon after he had "cast anchor in Dover-road (at which place he had landed part of the "retinue of M. de Rosny) sailed from thence on his return to Calais, and "passing by the ship on board of which M. de Rosny then was, he ordered "his flag to be hoisted, and gave him a salute; soon after which, the flag "was again taken in. The English captain of the ship wherein M. de "Rosny was, seeing the French flag hoisted, commanded his men to fire "upon the vice-admiral of France, swearing he would suffer no flag to be "seen in these seas but that of England. A gun was immediately fired "upon De-Vic's ship, who, having demanded the reason of it, prepared to "defend himself. M. de Rosny complained of it to the English captain, "and represented the firing this shot as an offence done to himself; but he "talked to a man who refused to hear reason, and who answered him on-"ly with rage and fury; he was therefore forced to submit, and made a "sign to the vice-admiral of France to take down his flag, which he did. "De-Vic, thinking himself injured, demanded satisfaction of the English "admiral; who answered him, that the king of England, his master, did "not permit what the captain had presumed to do, desired that he would "excuse his indiscretion, &c. and promised that nothing like it should ever "happen again. This reply appeased and quieted all parties." Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Testament Politique, makes use of this as an argument, to demonstrate to Louis XIII the absolute necessity there was for a naval power: "The cannon-shot," says he, "by piercing the vessel, pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen; "and if the words of king James were civil, yet were they of no other

made myself heard; which, however, I at last effected, by representing to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and also to give me a more distinguishing mark of his respect, by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this; and my English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their discharge at random. I made a signal to De-Vic, which he perfectly well understood, and took down his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them; though I much question, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I arrived at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England, which Gondy had in France, namely, that of receiving ambassadors, which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or cha-

" effect, than to oblige the duke of Sully to obtain his satisfaction from his " own prudence, by feigning to be contented, though his discontent, and " his reason for it, were really greater, and farther from being removed " than ever. The king, your father, was under a necessity to use dissimu- " lation on this occasion, but he did it with the resolution, whenever it " might again be necessary, to maintain the just rights of his crown by " such a naval force as time would furnish him with the means to acquire." Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may farther observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired king James to grant him, passes it over very slightly; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

riots, and other things of this nature:* the mayor of Dover also came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were so great, that it was said, nothing like it had ever been before seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

The governor of this place sent his nephew to me, to desire I would come with him and see the castle, he not being able to wait on me himself, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a second, from which I conceived a good opinion of the person by whom they were sent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might justly have fallen upon myself, had I, after this, quitted Dover without waiting on the governor; I therefore went to the castle the next day with all my retinue; but I soon discovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted from those who have the curiosity to see the castle of Dover; this was demanded, with sufficient rudeness, of every one of my retinue, and was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myself, quit their swords. Being introduced to the governor, whose name was Thomas Wymes, he received us seated in his chair, but, perceiving that some of us were looking at the towers and walls of the castle, he put on so sour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid lest our presence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had ex-

* Sir Lewis Lewknor was the first person appointed to the office of master of the ceremonies in England. See Stow.

horted my retinue, whatever might be said or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeness; and this proved to be no unnecessary caution.

When we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer showed himself that polite and obliging person, who but just before had demanded a list of those who accompanied me, that as he said, they might all be furnished with the necessary horses and carriages; and I could not but suppose his sole design, in getting this list, was that he might send it to London; for he suffered all my retinue to provide themselves horses as well as they could, and at their own cost; and these mild people lent them at so high a price, and at the same time with so much arrogance, that they seemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our sentiments of so rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I had more reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and respect, they pretended to have received orders so to do from the king of England. Canterbury, is but a small town, but extremely populous, and the inhabitants so polite, that, in no other place did I receive such distinguished honours and civilities as there; some came to kiss my boot, others to kiss my hands, and others to make me presents of flowers; all which must be attributed not to the English of this city (they every where preserve their character of aversion for the French), but to the Walloons and Flemish, who, having at different times taken refuge in this town and

its vicinity, on account of their religion, have at last almost entirely changed it, and at this day, compose two thirds of its inhabitants. I visited the cathedral, and attended the service, wherein the music was excellent. The cathedral is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons understood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their caresses and civilities: one of them shewed himself so well affected to France, as to give me an information of some consequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërsens to Henry himself. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me, as one of my secretaries; and being informed that this was the son of his old friend, he came to see him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the secretary of count d'Aremberg,* ambassador from the archduke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

Here lord Sydney came and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Aremberg,

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbançon, count d'Aremberg.

was lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sydney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the lord chamberlain, and member of the privy council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some disrepect from the king of England; but, afterwards reflecting that the rank of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sydney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others, paid me by his majesty's direction. I nevertheless, communicated my thoughts on this subject to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, it was not intended to occasion any. Beaumont applied to Sydney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them they should send an earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and confidents of king James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged if necessary.

At Gravesend I was received on board the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where,

upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musketry from the mole and fort before the Tower: I scarce ever heard a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, with Southampton and Sidney, who performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the house of the count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The concourse of people was so great, that we could scarcely proceed through the streets.

This very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, lord Southampton took me aside, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired (having first expressed to me his zeal), that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of his master: after him lord Sydney came and made me the same request, by ingenuously telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being first deputed to me, and the respect and attachment which he had for his most Christian majesty, might merit my reserving for him at least some part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I should not disclose myself entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived these noblemen had a mutual jealousy of each other, and contended who should be the first to give the king any information. I very civilly

thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sydney; that is to say, the former received only false, and the latter nothing farther than general intimations of but little consequence, and such as I should have been glad to see published. They both made what use of them they thought proper: as to myself, I supped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for so short a time had not been sufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel,* which was destined for me, could be got ready: this palace was one of the finest, and, from its great number of apartments upon the same floor, the most commodious in London: but this delay greatly embarrassed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houses and apartments were sought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them, for the inhabitants refused to receive us, on account of the misconduct which they had but lately experienced in some of marshal Biron's people; the greatest part therefore had like to have been obliged to pass the night in the street.

It must indeed be confessed, that if what I heard on this subject was true, Biron, by the excesses which he had suffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they may be of use in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and

* Arundel-house. It had been in the possession of the crown, I believe, ever since the attainder of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, who died a prisoner in the Tower in 1595. EDIT.

even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I was fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority: and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour: but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almost immediately.

I was the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town: at the same place they met with some Englishmen, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the Englishmen was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an assylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis d'Oraison, Saint Luc, and Blerancourt; but, observing them

come in at different times, three and four together, and with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and, having questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

The honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negociation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved, that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeau, and, ordering all that were in the house (which was about a hundred) to range themselves round the walls, I hoped, by this means, to discover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty by his agitation and fear: he attempted to deny it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that "the English and you are at variance, if you are ca- "pable of preferring the interest of yourself and your "relations, to that of the king and the public: but the "service of the king my master, and the safety of so "many gentlemen of good families, shall not suffer for "such an imprudent stripling as this." I told Beaumont in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir!" cried Beaumont, "be- "head a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred

"thousand crowns, an only son? it is but an ill recom-
"pense for the trouble he has given himself, and the
"expense he has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone, that I had no occasion for such company: and to be short, I desired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him present in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce sentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldest and the wisest of my retinue, and the affair being presently determined, I sent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to desire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for answer, that his first care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him justice, and that he was just coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the sentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either because my severity had disarmed his, or, which seemed most probable, because he had already suffered himself to be gained by presents from the friends of the criminal. I sent again to this magistrate to inform him, that as no superior authority, nor respect for any person whatever, had determined me to pronounce this sentence, I could not consent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I should justify the king my master, and give the English nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occasion which my duty required; therefore in such an affair, I could only acquit myself of it by committing it to him, and by resigning the prisoner to such punish-

ment as justice and the laws of England required. I accordingly sent Combaut to him; so that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who without much difficulty, obtained this magistrates's consent to set Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me: on the contrary, I perceived both the French and English seemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended so well for Combaut; and the consequence of this to me, with respect to the English and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

This removed at least one obstacle to the success of my negociation; but there still remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular persons, according as their different interests might incline them to thwart it. It is certain, that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate, that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions; it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and insolent, nor more conceited of its superior excellence: were they to be believed, understanding and common sense are to be found only among them; they are obstinately wedded to all their own opinions, and despise those of every other nation, and to hear others, or suspect themselves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themselves than to us, as from thence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: sometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the instability of the element by which they are surrounded; with them all things must submit to the

reigning dispositions, and the sole difference between them and any of the most inconstant people in Europe, is, that their inconstancy proceeds not from lightness, but from their vanity, which continually shows itself in a thousand different shapes. Their self-love renders them slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing it, or being able to give a reason for it; they are accordingly so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them for the same persons, and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surprised on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

From this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a king of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who may compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe.*

* I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can

France, therefore, can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her: and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity: but let the sovereign show himself a lover of peace, disinterested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain of preserving all his neighbours in that dependence which is only durable, because it concilistes the affections, instead of subjecting the persons.*

I dare farther maintain that peace is the great and common interest of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preserving it between the greater powers, by all the most gentle and persuasive means; and the greater powers should force the lesser into it, if necessary, by assisting the weak and oppressed; this is the only use they ought to make

only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences, is, that those prejudices and partialities which were the cause of hatred and jealousy have thereby been dissipated.

* It is not surprising to hear such reasoning as this now we have acquired juster notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at so great a degree of glory, that conquests can add nothing, or but very little to it: but what opinion must we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him establishing principles, in appearance so improper for the state of misery and weakness, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at least from whence it was but just recovered? It is by such true, solid, and wise maxims as these, that the Memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able ministers have since drawn inestimable treasures.

of their superiority. When I consider Europe as composed of such civilized people, I cannot but be astonished that she still continues to be governed by principles so narrow, and customs so barbarous. What is the consequence of that profound policy of which she is so vain, other than her own continued laceration and ruin? War is the resource in all places and upon all occasions? she knows no other way, nor conceives no other expedients; it is the sole resource of the most inconsiderable sovereign, as well as of the greatest potentate; the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with less noise, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may show his grandeur, though in reality he only shows himself more signally despicable. Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheles, we have so effectually confounded this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the English.

IV. The court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions; and from this circumstance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, private and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or by the information I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontent-

ed, and, in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bed chamber; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely: some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, because though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two.

The second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the lord chamberlain, the master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high treasurer, and Cecil, the secretary of state, at least, as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from, or united with all par-

ties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest: he had borne the principal sways in the late government, and he endeavoured, with the same subtilty, to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with those before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate, nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin,* and others.

Nothing could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretel which would at length obtain the ascendent, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure; but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known; be-

* Qu. Sir Griffin or Griffith Markham, who was implicated in Raleigh's plot? EDIT.

sides, his accession to a crown like that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, least, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been comformable to those of the northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria: Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised, but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the pope, Spain and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it provided they could have also separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

King James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been: he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, *Captain of arts and clerk of arms.* There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the ancient pretensions of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had

some erudition; though less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system: but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife.*

The character of this princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the Catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to show that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she was yet in Scotland when I arrived in that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being

* Anne, daughter of Frederick II, king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain; she died in 1619.

persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent, but she was very little affected by it.

Instead of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and against the king's express desire, appointed herself a lord chamberlain of her household.* She was also attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland,† because endeavours had been used to persuade the public, that his death was only feigned. She also brought with her the prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern absolutely, and whom, it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more happy, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness, and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of those

* The king had nominated sir George Carew for this office; but the queen, before she quitted Scotland, conferred it upon a Scottish gentleman of the name of Kennedy, at which his majesty was so much displeased, that he is said to have threatened to "break the staff of his chamberlainship" over Kennedy's head, and to dismiss him, if the queen brought him with her into England. See a Letter from sir Thomas Edmonds to the earl of Shrewsbury, in Lodge's Illustr. vol. iii. p. 163.

† "Her majesty went to Striveling, of mind to bring away the prince her "son, and carry him along with herself to England; but being denied by "the friends of the house of Marre, she became so much incensed, as fall-"ing into a fever, she made a pitiful abortion."—Spottiswood.

princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition, by having him sent to be educated in Spain.

Thus I have given some account of the state of the court of London, at the time when I began my negociation. The character of the rest of the principal persons who composed it will appear more particularly in the ensuing part of these Memoirs. Here, therefore, I will only add, that besides count d'Aremberg from the archdukes, prince Henry of Nassau, and the other deputies from the States-general, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambassador from his Catholic majesty, and the envoys from Sweden* and Denmark, were also hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests, to be of the utmost importance to them.

The first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London, were those of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the af-

* Christiern IV.

ternoon. So long as we had any witnesses of our conversation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

This general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person who spoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was, to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper, in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preserve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low-Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments; and though he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject, by informing me, that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which count d'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived be-

fore me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation, no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

Notwithstanding all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me, that no one, after the king, had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined, that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States general, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance, no more than the observation which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; as before that, he would neither see nor speak to the prince of Nassau, and had even publicly given the States the epithet of *seditious rebels*. These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable senti-

ments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables, I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I gave them a more positive answer on the 21st, when Barnevelt,* their principal, came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his colleagues, began by magnifying the misery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expenses they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the States could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the archduke, enter Flanders from the land side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these complaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I told Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes, for that Henry was not at all disposd, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a war, in which, supposing the king of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told

* John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say any thing positive to them, till I had at least sounded the dispositions of James with regard to them. Barnevelt, having been at London for a considerable time, might reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having, from the first, been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counsellors, and his own passive disposition, he had long deprived them of all hopes; but having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction, the Flemish should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having, perhaps, been made sensible what England even had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire; these considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; but, on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

These informations which I received from Barnevelt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation, or, at best, irresolution; for those of his ministers, whom I had reason to believe

were best acquainted with the secrets of his councils, constantly said, upon every occasion, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would, indeed, have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any of the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

Barnevelt finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confident of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer hesitated to discover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of so important a secret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had resolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furnish them with the means of doing this by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in case they found themselves too closely pressed by the English and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunswick and Vandrelep, offering Ostend to be sequestrated till the conclusion of the treaty; that during this interval, some event might perhaps

happen in their favour, and thus, at least for the present, put a stop to the powerful forces preparing in Spain against Ostend.

In order to understand what is here said of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is necessary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns,* as a security for the money which she had lent them, with this gracious clause in their favour, That they should not give her the possession of them, unless they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her consent. As to the other treaty it was proposed, in the height of hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the contested countries under the power of the house of Austria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which possessed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is most probable, both, were the cause of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunswick, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing; the former required, that the provinces and towns which Spain still preserved, or had regained in Flanders, should be comprehended in the treaty; because, they said, they risked too much by being so near the power of Spain, who, taking advantage of a pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day, I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic: he was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barnevelt had been; for his state was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain,

* Flushing and the Brille.

and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before strongly suspected of the irresolution of James; he told me, that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the high sounding words, *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with; all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

These reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour: but James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between la Tremouille, d'Entragues, du Plessis, and himself, and had borne in their opinions so favourable an aspect: this scheme was to make the king of England protector of the Calvinist party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had

entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blanc. D'Entragues's agent was named du Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by his order made inquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negociate by means of others; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

The same day also count d'Aremberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the king. All that passed between me and this nobleman consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

The king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-second, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was also added a present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, he had killed that day, and was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chase; the reason was, there being very

few in Scotland, and this the first he had hunted in England. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majesties was to me a presage of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chase should prevent it; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chase, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute to its success, that he generally sent me to pursue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his Britannic majesty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the same time, sent him half my present.

One part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue should appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreigner, or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black; and

Beaumont had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princess, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided.

I should have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were positive, not to mention that they were almost laudable; and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont's representations, who entreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expense, till he had wrote about it to Erskine* and some others, who were best acquainted with court ceremonials. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even on Saturday; and I still persisted in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront, and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the success of my negociation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with that of lord Sydney, the viscount de Saraot, La Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear lest a greater evil should ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their

* Sir Thomas Erskine, afterwards lord Kelly, and groom of the stole: he was a principal means of rescuing James from the Gowry conspiracy. EDIT.

apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Lewkenor coming the next morning to inform me that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance; nevertheless it publicly gained me almost as much honour, as if I had persisted in my intention, because none were ignorant that I had complied only through absolute necessity.

BOOK XV.

1603.

I. Continuation of Rosny's embassy to London: detail of what passed at his first audience: public conversations of the king of England with him upon different subjects. Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negociation. Dispositions of the different courts of Europe. Rosny's first conference with the English ministers. Intrigues of Spain.—II. Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with king James: he persuades him to support the United Provinces; other affairs transacted between them: his second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negociation.—III. Imprudent proceedings of count d'Aremberg. Third audience. Rosny admitted to the table of the king of England: public conversations on different subjects. Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United Provinces. Artifice and perfidy of Cecil. Fourth audience; private conversations with king James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV and Elizabeth; and endeavours to gain his approbation of them: a short abstract of these designs: James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour.

I. THE earl of Derby, at the head of the king's guards, came to attend me to the banks of the Thames, where I embarked with a train of one hundred and twenty gentlemen, selected out of my retinue, on board the royal barges, and proceeded down the river to Greenwich. There was, as usual, a great concourse of people both in the streets and on the water. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northumberland who conducted me through an infinite number of people, to the king's palace. Here I was led into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an established custom in England, never to

treat ambassadors, nor even to offer them a glass of water.

His majesty having sent to desire my appearance in his presence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occasioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and because I made all my retinue walk before me. The king no sooner perceived me than he descended two steps, and would have descended them all, so very desirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his ministers, who stood next him, whispered softly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. "If," said he aloud, "I show this ambassador particular marks of honour, "and such as are contrary to custom, I mean not there- "by to give a precedent to others: I particularly love "and esteem him for the affection which I know he has "for me, for his firmness in our religion, and his fideli- "ty to his master." I dare not repeat all that he said to my advantage. I received so obliging a favour with all due respect; and replied, not by an harangue, such as some may, perhaps, expect to see here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleased; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more suitable to my situation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the accession of James to the throne of England, the praises of the two kings, all these I comprised in very few words. I excused myself from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his most christian majesty's having explained his sentiments in his letters, which I at the same time presented, distinguishing to his Britannic majesty, that which Henry wrote with his own hand. He read them himself, and then gave them to Cecil ex-

pressing at the same time, how sensible he was of their contents, by these words, "That he had not left in "Scotland the ardour with which he had always loved "the king of France, and desired the prosperity of his "crown." I continued to compliment his majesty, though in the style of common conversation; for that of harranguing was extremely disagreeable to me. I said that Henry had given public demonstrations of his joy, on seeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was so worthy of it, and for his having been so readily and universally acknowledged; that if there had been occasion for the presence of his most christian majesty, he would have given proofs of his sincere attachment to his interests, and union with his person, and have come with pleasure to any place where his presence might have been necessary. I had no cause to repent of my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always commendable," said he "to "overcome evil with good:" But that he had had the double satisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendship with France, for another that was not less so. The late queen was mentioned on this occasion, but without one word in her praise.

After this, his majesty being desirous to discourse longer and more familiarly with me, he made me ascend all the steps leading to the throne. I took this occasion to make my personal compliments, for which he thanked me with an air of sincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he

had received from Paris, of the discourses attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confessed that he had for some time believed them, but that he had at last discovered the whole to be only an artifice of our common enemies, who, by using such means, to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said: and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, though incognito, having not yet been able to obtain an audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimeras of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the king of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: a conduct equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premedita-

ted intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the resentment which he showed against Spain before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this subject to that of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chase; that he had attributed the late success of this sport to me, not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chase, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere: and that if I pursued the chase, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all kind of exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, or prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Hereupon James said, that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom; and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me, as it were by interrupting himself, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince, that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that

this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependence upon a king in his minority. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all these false reports, in which I succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely sorry; and this was, that his physicians had forbid him the chase. To this I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue; for, in reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chase, the manner of which accident he related to me.

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our conversation, he, in his answer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in consequence of the advice of his physicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he used to be, and that since my departure he had been at the death of five or six stags without the least inconvenience. "Well," said the king of England to me, still continuing the same subject, "I understand you have "sent part of the produce of my sport to count d'Arem-"berg; and how do you think he received it? I assure "you, it was not at all agreeable to him. He says, you "sent it only to show that you were more regarded than "he; and he is in the right, for I will surely make some dif-"ference between my good brother the king of France, "and his masters, who have sent me an ambassador "who can neither walk nor speak; he demanded an au-"dience of me in a garden, because he could not walk "up stairs into a room." James then asked me, whether the Spanish ambassador, who had been sent to him, had passed through France? and upon my replying that he had: "Spain," said he, "sends me an ambassador

"post, that he may arrive the sooner, and finish our af-
"fairs in post-haste." Thus upon every occasion he inveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis* courier-major to his Catholic majesty, had, in effect taken his rout through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to discover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambassador was Velasco,† constable of Castile, who soon followed him.

After all this, James asked me (for he did not dwell long upon one subject) whether I went to the Protestant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then," said he, "you are not resolved, as I have been "informed, to quit our religion, after the example of "Sancy, who thought by that condescension to make his "fortune; but, by God's providence, he did just the con-"trary." I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in France in friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and being so frequently visited by the pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given rise to it. "And, in "talking with the nuncio," said James, "do you give the "pope the title of holiness?" I replied, "That to conform "to the custom established in France, I did." He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve. He

* John Taxis, count of Villa-Mediana. [He did not arrive in England till after Sully quitted it. See some curious particulars respecting him in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 172, 6.]

† John Ferdinand de Velasco, duke of Frias.

spoke to me of du-Plessis, and appeared somewhat concerned for his fortune and present condition: he said, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publish his last book under his own name; because by the titles which he therein gave himself, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the services which he had rendered the Protestant religion. He said not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chastisement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he said, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I think I have omitted nothing of any consequence of what was said to me by the king of England, in this my first audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, saying it would be time for me to go to supper, and to my repose. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accosted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the lord chamberlain. Erskine, in conducting me across the court of the palace, spoke to me of his attachment to his most christian majesty, and his desire of being ranked amongst the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, said pretty nearly the same to me: no one amongst the English lords has more understanding, capacity, courage, or possesses more authority than this nobleman: he manifested a great desire to have a private conversation with me upon the present affairs. I gathered from what he said, though he did not speak in plain terms, that he was not satisfied with the government; that he blamed the greatest part of the king's ac-

tions; in short, to say it in a word, that he had no great share either of fidelity or esteem for James. It is not necessary to say with what reserve and circumspection I listened to such discourse.

The open declaration which the king of England had made against Spain, had given me some hopes that the court of London would be insensibly prejudiced against that power. In the interval between my first and second audience, several things happened which increased these hopes. An English Catholic, who was likewise a Jesuit (as was at first reported) was seized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being questioned, he confessed that he had disguised himself in this manner, to deliver the Catholic church from the oppression of the new king of England, unless he re-established the Romish religion in his dominions solely, or, at least, with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the Protestants, and unless he likewise declared himself against the Protestants of Holland; that eight other Jesuits had conspired with him in this design, and that they had actually dispersed themselves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to destroy this prince. But the report was false, in regard to the person of this suspected Englishman, for he was not a Jesuit,* but only a seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason count

* De Thou, no more than M. de Sully, charges the Jesuits with having any concern in this conspiracy, which is the same that will be mentioned in a subsequent page.

d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or at least till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution, which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London: this, it was said, was to favour the Spanish faction; which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to show themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shown to her memory: nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence to myself, that I refrained following such a general example.

I believe the Spanish faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for instead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it said, that so far from having any dependance on what Spain called her

friendship and alliance, it was not even safe to contract with her; that the ambassador of this court had not dared to present himself in London, and that most certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majesty was contrasted with that of his most Christian majesty. Henry's procedure appeared so open and ingenuous and so far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it: he would never have sent into England, it was said, the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was most necessary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myself, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of those characters, whose conclusion is generally that of beholding one's self at once both dishonoured and sacrificed to the public indignation. In short, if a union between the two crowns, which I proposed, was not in all respects the best conduct that they could pursue, it was at least the safest; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings should consider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they sometimes reasoned in the council, and in the presence of the king of England, very much to the satisfaction of those counsellors who were in our interests, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince to their party. Lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almost public profession which he made of attachment to France, here used his utmost interest and endeavours.

But all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost en-

tirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only appeared almost insurmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he could not but be baffled notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to centre all power in himself, and, by making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And, what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of power of all men, should remain unknown only to them?

But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

Supposing also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt, whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to show to the earl of Essex, Southampton, and lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference, that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in the presence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erskine, who was present three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion to Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference

being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which they kept a profound silence in my presence. A strange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made some discovery of what sort of men I had to deal with.

Lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been present at a meeting of these ambassadors, wherein only those of his majesty's council and the States-deputies were admitted; that here, instead of labouring mutually to strengthen themselves in laudable resolutions, each of them had only sought to draw himself out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Danish deputy represented, that indeed his master possessed a great extent of territory, but for the most part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its situation, rather expensive than profitable; that the submission and tractableness of the people was an advantage of no use to the king his master, because from the prodigious variation of their manners and customs, he could neither understand them, nor could they understand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to establish a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprise. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that, I confess, I am

at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure: he spoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly, and intimated that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss, supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from the saying of the king of England, "That every new king, if he had the smallest degree of "good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day "pass before he made any innovation, though of the "smallest consequence," concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North* with some little attention, we shall perceive that they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of England and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally, what steps she

* The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wisdom and policy of some of the Northern powers.

intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires, for barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at most but very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance, this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by lord Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me, was that the earl of Northumberland, whom I gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, sent his secretary with great secrecy one night when I was going to bed, to acquaint me with the following particulars.

From the moment king James ascended the throne of England, said this secretary, the king of Spain has not ceased to solicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archduke, or by the English Catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against France and the United Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially his Britannic majesty, have so clear and incontestible a claim to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in them not to make use of it, at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom presented so fair an opportunity: and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this enterprise, were,

that James and his Catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic majesty, for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, to renounce moreover all his pretensions upon the United Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that in consideration of this favour, they would consent to strengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The king of England having made no answer to all these great offers, farther than by saying, that they were premature, and that he chose to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new subjects, and by strengthening himself upon the throne, Spain easily perceived that this reply was a civil refusal; and James not being disposed by open force to attempt the recovery of his ancient possessions, Spain then turned her endeavours to persuade this prince, at least to favour the French provinces in their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke; the Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have every where reported that it only depended on themselves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquillity without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under shelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cause to

apprehend either the resentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, because care would be taken at the same time to involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under the necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary of the earl of Northumberland, what answer James gave to this second proposition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should think proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he should conclude no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, it might from thence be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appeared so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that from whatever places it might be confirmed, I could not believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in

regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion; yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, as well between themselves as the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments?

That article which concerns the United Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent, the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the States as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she would therein have been more grossly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them to their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that too of their ancient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought; they have, upon all occasions, constantly said that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them, and if they have sometimes talked in a different manner, as in the conference above mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories, which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërsens must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter, could be sufficiently depended upon: the first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme: that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence; which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them be believed, not with any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even that they should come to his ears, but only with design to increase the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was in these terms that I wrote on this subject to Henry, who sometimes considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to the latter, who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to

whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

II. The day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday the 25th: that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, as he said, that he might confer with me alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing, and discoursing with, his most Christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved.* The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

Immediately upon my entrance his majesty arose, and having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV, during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve and without witnesses: "Not," said I, "that the king my master has "sent me to require any thing of your majesty, but only "to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs "wherein your majesties may both be equally concern-"ed; and that the king my master may conform to "them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which," he said, "it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium be-"tween three of its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Stuart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marshal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprise upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English Catholic

faction; (from hence it appears, that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James;) but that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures, in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded such laudible sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it: nor could I have said any thing further on the subject, had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came, a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me, that having promised a little, he would perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his Christian majesty; and that Henry only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment of that power, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years past; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low

Countries; and I concluded that as both James and Henry would one day be indispensably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to sap the foundation of so vast a dominion, it was therefore absolutely necessary now to concert the proper measures for it, that no step might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preservation of the United Provinces might be provisionally secured, was all that I had to desire of his majesty. "But," said the king of England, "what better assistance would "you that the king of France and I should give the "Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us "in a general treaty of partition and pacification be- "tween them and Spain, upon conditions of which we "shall ourselves be guarantees? whereby, should Spain "first fail in the observation of them, we shall then "have just reason to take arms against her, and drive "her entirely out of these provinces: and I consent," added he, "upon a supposition that this will be the case, "immediately to determine with you, what means and "what forces we shall employ for the execution of it." James was not sensible of all the objections to this partition-treaty which he proposed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear satisfied with what he proposed, but during the delays which the negociating this treaty would produce, especially with a court whose dilatoriness was one of the chief arts of her policy, Ostend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being separated from it; and Spain would in the mean

time strengthen herself in what she did possess, and would be preparing the means for succeeding more effectually in her design of subjecting the rest of this state.

I desired his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious reflection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immersed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right: that the affair was of great consequence; that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me; and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced, that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not the least room for doubt; that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English counsellors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the king of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not

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If the whole of what was here related to me was true, it might from thence be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appeared so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that from whatever places it might be confirmed, I could not believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first pro ositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in

regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion; yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, as well between themselves as the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments?

That article which concerns the United Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent, the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the States as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she would therein have been more grossly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them to their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that too of their ancient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought; they have, upon all occasions, constantly said that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them, and if they have sometimes talked in a different manner, as in the conference above mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories, which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërsens must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter, could be sufficiently depended upon: the first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme: that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence; which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them be believed, not with any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even that they should come to his ears, but only with design to increase the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was in these terms that I wrote on this subject to Henry, who sometimes considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to the latter, who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to

whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

II. The day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday the 25th: that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, as he said, that he might confer with me alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing, and discoursing with, his most Christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved.* The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

Immediately upon my entrance his majesty arose, and having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV, during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve and without witnesses: "Not," said I, "that the king my master has "sent me to require any thing of your majesty, but only "to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs "wherein your majesties may both be equally concern-"ed; and that the king my master may conform to "them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which," he said, "it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium be-"tween three of its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Stuart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marshal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprise upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English Catholic

faction; (from hence it appears, that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James;) but that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures, in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded such laudible sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it: nor could I have said any thing further on the subject, had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came, a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me, that having promised a little, he would perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his Christian majesty; and that Henry only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment of that power, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years past; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low

sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himself wholly to compliment, and to the most general expressions: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier and had no skill in negociation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved: indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this awkward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador, (who began to be no longer expected,) would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the dissipation he was preparing of my projects, and the other counsellors appeared disposed to fall into their former irresolution. I was even informed from a

good quarter, that it not being doubted but this ambassador would make proposals to his Britannic majesty, accompanied by irresistible offers, part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby, from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

What was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon: he said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival till our sitting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chase and the weather: the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. Only Beaumont and myself sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to see that he was always served on the knee: a surtout in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

The conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even boasted of the dexterity which he had employed to manage her by means of her own counsellors, all of whom, he said, he had gained over

during her life, so that they did nothing but what was agreeable to him: that it was, therefore, not at this time only he governed England, but several years before the death of the late queen, whose memory did not seem agreeable to him. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprised at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference: though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved of every thing that had been done in the last conference between the counsellors and me; that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose he gave orders

that his counsellors should, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done. At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I should, without difficulty be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little on Sunday. For notwithstanding what has been here said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired: for the king of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy presage, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England, with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests. For this purpose, Barnevelt repaired to me

before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the utmost despair would abandon every thing, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded; because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause of the United Provinces, before their strength and spirits were entirely spent and exhausted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, because I had come to London only to enter into an association with the English, if it were possible, and in case they refused this, to know their reasons.

After this, we had some discourse about the towns destined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemish deputies, had given him to understand, that England being resolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the cession of those places as a security: and in consequence of this cession, Cecil had only promised him, that these towns should be preserved in a strict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as interesting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reserve which ought to be observed by a man entrusted upon oath with the secrets of his

council, that the States had put the thing in such a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could see itself in possession of those places. But from hence he also inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the consequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reason that he pressed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confessed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the resolution of his masters; but that the king of France, upon this occasion, could only lament their situation, not being in a condition to support them with open force against Spain and England together.

In the afternoon, all the Flemish deputies came in a body to assist in the conference; and soon after them the English counsellors, appointed by his Britannic majesty, also arrived. Cecil being, as usual, the speaker for all of them, began by saying directly, that the king of England was really in the interest of the States. And turning to me, he asked me, whether this was not what I desired, and the real design of my commission? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt, hasty procedure of the secretary; and instead of giving him a direct answer, I addressed myself to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings designing to interest themselves in their affairs, they ought therefore justly to represent the state of them; that from a full and perfect knowledge of their necessity, the succours which they wanted might be ascertained. Barnevelt, as usual, drew a picture of the miseries to which Spain had reduced them; and these he described in as lively and affecting a manner as he possibly could

But to come more immediately to the business, he said, it was necessary that the Spaniards should be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to succeed in this in the space of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: that the whole force of the United Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, not including the garrisons, and three thousand cavalry, besides fifty ships actually in a condition to serve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was necessary, than for the two kings to double these forces, by furnishing an equal number of each as above-mentioned.

I was apprehensive these propositions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authorise the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he should have been more careful only to ask what could be granted. I then asked Cecil, in a manner somewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his master, with regard to what was here proposed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States, that is, he would consent privately to assist the United Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing farther.

The deputies not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his discourse, said, that the king of England was indeed very willing to assist the States, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said, that in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to keep upon the coast of Spain, and in the Indies: and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expenses of these forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause.

I was extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without any equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his Britannic majesty might be inclined to

a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss in regard to the following suppositions; first, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented to him, that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bresse, not to mention the squadrons of gallies which he must also have to secure the Mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes. Then replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the king of France the whole or the greatest part of the expense of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by such means the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expenses should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expenses to defray, perhaps even greater than these; such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to

France. I added, that for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France; that Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but again, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by showing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I said, did not make that impression upon my hearers which I desired; on the contrary, the English took fire, and protested, if any thing farther were insisted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more especially, in this conference, completed his making himself known to me for what he really was; he made use only of double expressions, vague proposals, and false meanings, being perfectly sensible that reason was not on his side. The moderation and sincerity which I opposed to his ill-designing subtleties, forced him into contradictions, of which he was himself ashamed, when, by a single word, I made him feel the ridiculousness of what he said. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to show the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from

me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far, as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies, that this sum should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, to which they all added upon my refusal, that it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was at my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consists in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable character. What piqued me the most was to find these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substitute their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

The deputies, who had returned, and were present during this discussion, having again retired, greatly dissatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before, Cecil once more changed his battery: he said that since the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expenses were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct therefore which the two kings

could pursue, would be to continue to live in friendship, but without intermeddling with any foreign disputes whatsoever. This, probably, was what the secretary really proposed; and, notwithstanding the length and frequency of his discourses, was all he had ever uttered with sincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the English, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, said they would relate to the king every thing which had passed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things should be expeditiously settled on this footing; that this audience would probably be my last, and that wherein I should take my leave, because, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept silence upon this occasion, it was most certainly not because I acquiesced in what they said; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again exposed themselves, and, as it were confessed themselves to be liars and impostors, had inspired me with the utmost contempt for them; but I judged, that expostulation or passion would be so far from making them quit a resolution which they had concerted together, that, perhaps, it might rather tend to promote a rupture; whereas, as matters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted between the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of), some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission, because I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the designs which his counsellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in respect to this, was what I proposed in my third audience, for I did not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in private; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords Hume and Seaford, about noon, came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

The king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that showed how greatly he was satisfied with the king of France and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted that, making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his counsellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and me and the States

deputies; and I promised, if he would permit me, to give him a sincere and just relation of every thing.

The king approving my proposal, I acquainted him with all that had passed between us the preceding evening; I insisted more especially upon the proposition to discharge the debt owing to England, and on the aspersion upon his most Christian majesty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added, that, if, after having filled my letters to Henry only with eulogies on the generosity, the prudence, and the perfect friendship of the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, and this because he himself had authorised me to do it, both by his words and actions, I should be obliged, on a sudden, to write to him in a quite contrary style, without having any reason to allege for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my master could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful minister in regard to the interests with which he had entrusted me; and it would besides be considered as the effect of a determined friendship with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might ensue between the two kings, whose interest as well as inclination required their continuing in a constant state of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the king of England, that there were several of those whom he admitted into his council who were neither well disposed in themselves nor well affected to his person; that without naming them to him, he ought to consider as such all those who appeared so little solicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to advise him, under the name of an ally, to render himself the slave of Spain, that he would do well to be in some degree diffident of such persons, whose characters he was not perfectly well acquainted

with, and to be guided rather by his own wisdom, than the representations of his ministers.

It was no difficult matter to inspire the king of England with a diffidence of his ministers, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture, and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observation was just; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, he was at last in the most favourable disposition I could wish him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce into our conversation some general hints of a project, by which, with the assistance of his Britannic majesty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be secured. Having said this, I remained silent, as though I had been apprehensive of fatiguing him by too long a discourse: but I knew the curiosity of James would be excited by the little I had said; accordingly he replied, that my discourse had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and asked some of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him it was not yet three, "Well, sir," said the king to me, returning, "I will break off the party for the chase "which I had made for this day, that I may hear you "to the end, and this employment will, I am persuaded, "be of more service to me than the other."

The reason that induced me to hazard a step of such consequence as that of communicating to king James the great designs upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being persuaded this prince was already of himself inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to

be determined in this resolution from some great and noble motive; and because, on the other side, his ministers constantly brought him back to their manner of thinking apparently because he could not support himself against them, from a persuasion that they opposed his sentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very necessary.

I resumed the discourse, and told his majesty, that, without doubt, he had sometimes thought, and with good reason, that a man in possession of the places and honours with which I was known to be invested, never quitted his post but on very urgent occasions; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived of his genius and abilities, which fame had not been silent in reporting, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what I could have so interesting to communicate to him. But finding that my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least intimation of the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy sacrament.

doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to increase the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of the Austrian power: besides, what is his power? It consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to the incursions of the formidable armies of the grand signior; liable on the other, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the electoral princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the emperor, at the present day, all things justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is, to procure the restoration of their liberty, in religion and election. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the more sincerely attached to the emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, because it is evident his religion must, sooner or later, set him at variance with his benefactor. But supposing the emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he

can expect from this elector, it will amount to nothing, or but very little, so long as he shall be under apprehensions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almost all the powers on which Spain seems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little service. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themselves from the dominion of the emperor, and even to aggrandise themselves at his expense. Nor has he any greater dependence on the ecclesiastical princes, than on the others. A foreign emperor is what they most wish, provided he is not a Protestant. Nothing could give the archdukes, though Spaniards, a greater pleasure, than a regulation, by which they should become sovereigns in Flanders, independent of Spain; weary at length of being only her servants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing so much less for the daughter which he bestowed upon him, than for her younger sister. As to Italy, it need only be observed, that it will be obliged to acquiesce in the will of the stronger party.

It is therefore certain that the second of the factions here described has nothing to fear, provided it understands its own interests well enough to continue in a constant state of union. Now it is also certain, that in this scheme these so natural motives to disunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that caused by the difference of religion, which in some sort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred against Spain,

which is the great and common motive by which these powers are animated. Where is the prince in the least jealous of his glory, who would refuse to enter into an association strengthened by four such powerful kings as those of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, closely united? It was a saying of Elizabeth, that nothing could resist these four powers, when in strict alliance with each other.

These truths being admitted, it only remains, to examine, by what methods the house of Austria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to that monarchy only. These methods consist either in artifice or force, and I have two for either of them. The first of the secret methods is, to divest the house of Austria of the Indies, Spain having no more right to prohibit the rest of the Europeans from an intercourse with those countries, than she has to destroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having also a liberty to make establishments in the newly discovered countries as soon as they have passed the line, this enterprise would therefore be easily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thousand men, all provided and victualled for six months; England to furnish the ships, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the most powerful, the money and soldiers. There would be no occasion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries should be equally divided.

During this, the second of these means should be secretly prepared, upon occasion of the succession to Cleves, and the death of the emperor, which cannot be far distant, in such manner, that under favour of the opportunities which these two incidents might furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria

of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the ancient freedom of election.

The first of the open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this state into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle: the first side of which from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea: the second is bounded by France, viz. Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Messin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Dusseldorp. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such a manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the first, France the second, the electors and other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except, perhaps, Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under a contribution, immediately submit.

The second of the two last means, is for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretensions to any share of the conquest, and relinquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the Tyrol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be

erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the pope, as being most convenient for him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Istria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the most solid foundation of this confederacy would arise from all the parties being gainers by it. The rest of Italy, subject to its petty princes, might perhaps be suffered to continue under its present form of government, provided that these little states were altogether considered as composing only one body or republic, of which they should be so many members.

This is a pretty just account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majesty with the design to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confessed that I was not myself able to elucidate the design; that I was not suprised that his majesty had at first perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it also, but that they only proceeded from my own weakness, and the impossibility of showing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long discourses; that I was convinced in my own mind, the design was not only possible, but that also the success of it was infallible; that if any thing was found defective in the scheme as I had conceived it, it might easily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and some of the best generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be intrusted.

I then returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majesty, that this alliance being the chief and necessary foundation of the confederacy which I had proposed to him,

it must therefore necessarily begin it, without paying any regard to the discourses of prejudiced persons, or being affected by such frivolous considerations as those of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I assured him, that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amassing such vast sums, were only designed to enable him hereafter of himself to accomplish the greatest part of this important design; at least that I could flatter myself with success in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public service, which operated so powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his most sensible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his desire of being brought into comparison with Henry, and of sharing his praises.

My earnestness to succeed gave such force and clearness to my expressions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of transport proceeding from his friendship for me, and his indignation at the evil councils which they had hitherto endeavoured to make him follow. "No, sir," said he, "do not fear that I shall ever fail in what we have to-"gether agreed upon." He protested with the same ardour, that he would not, on any consideration, have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never forfeit the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had said would yet farther confirm him in the sentiments with which I had inspired him; that he would even now engage to sign the plan of alliance which I had presented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himself made some inconsiderable alterations; that I

should also sign it in the name of the king of France, unless I rather chose to carry it with me unsigned, to show it to his most Christian majesty, in which case he gave me his royal word, that, upon my bringing or sending it back, at the end of a month or six weeks, approved and signed by Henry, he would immediately, and without the least difficulty, join to it his own signature. He concluded, by obligingly assuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promise the same secrecy in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had been so free as to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occasion he revealed to me, and which I therefore suppress.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which declaration the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil," said James to him, "I command you, without any reply or "objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare "the necessary writings, according to which, *I will then* "*give the dexter*,* and all assurances to the ambassa- "dors of the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me,

* This expression signifies an oath or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. am-"bassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?" I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king; and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his counsellors who were present. Upon my departure, he gave orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sydney to escort me to London.

BOOK XVI.

1603.

I. Continuation of the embassy and negociations of Rosny at the court of London; form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty: substance of this treaty. Dispatches from Rosny intercepted. Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with king James: presents which he makes in London: his return: dangers at sea: his reception from Henry IV: public conversation between them on the subject of his negociation. Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries:—II. Rosny resumes his labours in the finances. Henry supports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the count de Soissons: he entertains the king at Rosny. Journey of Henry into Normandy: what passed in this journey. Mutiny of the Protestants of the assembly of Gap. Rosny made governor of Poitou.—III. Establishment of the silk manufactory in France: conversations on this subject, in which he endeavours to dissuade Henry from this design. Remarks on his opinion of wearing silk, and on other parts of luxury. A colony settled at Canada.

I. ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a document, whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occasion, I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negociation received from the unhappy pre-

caution which necessity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propose any thing to the king of England but as of myself.

James, being more entirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the Protestant religion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readiness. But how great the difference between such a general engagement, subject to numberless interpretations, and a treaty, in which, by virtue of full powers from the king, I could have inserted, with all possible care and detail, all the clauses and stipulations, and in which I could have entered into all those explanations which form the indissoluble bonds of a political compact. I should not be so bold as to assert, that, upon this occasion, instead of the mere formula, I had reason to expect his Britannic majesty's signature of a complete treaty, which it would not be possible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a signed blank, been an authentic testimony, that I have here advanced nothing from suggestions of vanity or self-love. But I should reproach myself with being guilty of injustice, were I to appear suspicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm that no prince in Europe could show himself more jealous of it; but it happens, from I know not what fatality, that

the only thing in the world which one would think ought to be the least exposed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and master of its sentiments, is, however, the most changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties would in no other instance incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almost always fail in the execution of it, provided they can find the smallest colour or pretence for so atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a solemn promise or engagement were not the same as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as soon as I was gone, the counsellors of his Britannic majesty would use their utmost efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the most active for this purpose, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confusion from the conversation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

Nevertheless, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negociation: my own situation in the affair considered,* its conclu-

* This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with high eulogiums, in almost all the histories and memoirs of this time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoken of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the authors of Villeroi's Memoirs of State, and of the history of the duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even in the most minute circumstances. Vol. II. p. 577, et seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first volume of Siri, Mem. recond. Besides the detail of the marquis de Rosny's embassy

sion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risk of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when considered in respect to Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more without showing a disregard to the terms prescribed; not only in my public, but even in my private instructions. However, from what I had done there arose one real and very sensible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither so soon nor so easily return to the former. I therefore immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished, I presented to the king of England and his counsellors, to be by them finally revised and examined: they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner.

to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here, p. 226, et seq. we find throughout this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of king James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.

The king of England, after returning his most Christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had anticipated him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the ancient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France, and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their own dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such time as the two kings should judge proper. The United Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies therein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated, that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquillity, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

However, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly, when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-general with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression; the number of men who were to compose these succours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they should be sent from England alone, and that the ex-

penses of the whole armament should be defrayed by his most Christian majesty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the sum due from France to England. It was likewise agreed, that these proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries should be pursued with as much secrecy as was possible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a supposition that this power, considering this action as an absolute infraction, should make reprisals upon the two protecting kings, the following resolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France should furnish him with an army of six thousand French at his own expense, during the whole time of the war, and in four years, and by equal proportions, discharge the remainder of his debt. England should act precisely in the same manner, in regard to France, in case the storm should fall upon her; the choice of either sea or land should be in the option of the party attacked, nor should England in this case require any part of her debt. Finally, should Spain at once declare war against both the allied princes, in order to act offensively, and at the same time promote the security of Flanders, his most Christian majesty should have an army of twenty thousand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Bresse; he should likewise have the same number of forces in Flanders; and should farther divide the Spanish forces, by directing his galleys to cruise in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majesty, on his side, besides an army of at least six thousand men, which he should keep in constant readiness, should send a fleet into the West Indies, and should

order another to cruise upon the coast of Spain. All payment of debts should be suspended, and each should defray its own expenses. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

Such was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the king of England, in presence of his counsellors: my dispatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negociation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but besides that upon these occasions it is a stroke of good policy always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception

upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negociation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

Among the greater number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my dispatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied: I questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent his majesty, intreating him to make all possible inquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the post-master of Ecouan.

I had before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traitor employed in

the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the state, to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover; *Packet to be given into the king's own hands without being opened.* He repented it, no doubt, when he found he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover; and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

Henry could have wished that I had practised upon the queen of England, and the prince her son, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this princess remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay at London, whilst several other affairs almost as important, required my presence at Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs most over the absent; my friends lost yet more than myself from

my not being among them. I entrusted Vaucelas,* my brother-in-law, with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majesties which I had brought for her, and I instructed him in what he should do and say, to obtain what the king desired to know concerning this princess.

Whilst I was very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth, as already mentioned,† broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure, for some days, and even prevented my writing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me, and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a hunting the same day, "to dissipate the uneasiness," added he, very obligingly, "which he should feel at my departure."

I attended his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's, Westminster, is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem

* Andrew de Cochéfilet, baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counsellor of state and ambassador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's second wife. The house of Cochéfilet is mentioned in du Chesne, as one of the most ancient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland, of the house of Bailleul in Normandy.

† See Vol. I. p. 247.

and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt at my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France; but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any farther discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said that he considered this prince as his sole model, as well as his friend; and protested that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him, from any of the subjects of the king of France, from whom he required the same deference; particularly with regard to any Jesuits who might be found in disguise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said, that he advised him from his heart never to be guilty of such an error as to recall them; he insisted on this article the most: for indeed he hated the Jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased by his considering them as his personal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances, which he required of his most Christian majesty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had

received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly mentioned.*

Being furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as at my arrival. Sydney and the English vice-admiral escorted me to the sea-side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and passage by sea.

But I should before have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his most Christian majesty; they were as follows:

To the king of England, six beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, and the sieur de St. Antoine as their keeper;—to the queen of England, a mirror of Venice crystal, in a gold box set with diamonds;—to the prince of Wales, a lance and helmet of gold, enriched with diamonds; also a fencer, and a tumbler;—to the countess of Bedford, a table clock of gold, enriched with diamonds;—to lady Rich, a gold box set with diamonds, in which was the king of France's portrait;—to lady Rosmont, a necklace of pearls and diamonds;—to Margaret Aisan, a favourite lady of the queen's bed-chamber, a diamond ring;—to the duke of Lennox, a hat-band, enriched with diamonds;—to the earl of Northumberland, a diamond brooch;—to the earl of Southampton, a plume of black heron feathers, with a brooch of diamonds in form of a plume;—to the earl of Devonshire, a diamond brooch;—

* Matthieu the historian says, the king of England made the marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

to the earl of Roxburgh, a brooch in form of a knot, held by two Loves, the whole set with diamonds;—to the high-admiral Howard, three dozen of gold buttons, enriched with diamonds;—to the earl of Mar, a brooch in form of a bunch of flowers, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones;—to the lord chamberlain, a gold brooch in form of an aigrette, set with diamonds, in the midst of which was a very beautiful ruby;—to the master of the horse, Hume, a brooch in form of a cross, set with diamonds;—to secretary Cecil, three dozen of gold buttons, enriched with diamonds;—to lord Kinloss, a diamond ring;—to lord Sydney, a chain of large grains of gold filled with perfume, and enriched with diamonds, from which hung suspended the king's portrait;—to sir Thomas Erskine, a gold brooch in form of a heart, set with diamonds;—to the sieur *Oleradoux*, a gold brooch in form of a love-knot, enriched with diamonds;—to sir Roger Aston, a gold box set with diamonds, to hold a portrait;—to one of Cecil's clerks, a gold cup.

The value of all these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be distributed as he should think proper, amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions to some English lords, were to retain them, and attach them more strongly to his interests. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to distribute them so as to avoid exciting any cause of jealousy between these English lords, and to prevent king James himself from conceiving any jealousy of my intention. The precaution which I used

for this purpose was to ask his permission to acknowledge, by some small gratuities, the services I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers Coterets on the ninth of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he passed some days here, during which the queen made a journey to Liesse. I did not take any rest at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readiness to embark the next day. The weather was so bad in the night, that the English vice-admiral very seriously advised me to alter my resolution. The least delay appeared no less insupportable to all my retinue than to myself, especially to those city sparks who find themselves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation; we were assailed by so violent a tempest, that we were in the utmost danger; we were the whole day in crossing the channel, and so extremely sea-sick, that, though there were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us, we must have surrendered.

A second letter which I received from the king at Boulogne, rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place, I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in case my health would permit

me to make use of them; I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived at Villers-Coterets by eight the next morning.

I would not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his majesty. I found him in the walk of the park which led to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought thither to him: Bellievre, Villeroi, de Maisses, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as de Maisses afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so "much wished to see, he is at last arrived; my cousin "the count of Soissons must be called, that he may be "present at the brief relation he will give us of what "he has seen, heard, said, and done, of which he has "wrote me nothing: let my horses be sent back, I shall "not now go into the forest."

His majesty would not suffer me to kneel to kiss his hand, but embraced me twice very closely. His first words were, that he was perfectly satisfied with my services; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he should take pleasure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be somewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity should present, to discourse on so many different matters. I began with the person of the king of England, which I described to him nearly the same as I have already done in these Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expressed for his majesty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his desire to render himself wor-

thy of the comparison. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inspire him, and how far he was from espousing the party of the revolted French Calvinists. King James was sensible, from his own situation, how very unfit this last procedure would have been, having so great a number of seditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cause him much trouble. I added, that if I had myself been disposed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very serious enterprises: I mentioned the affair of the lost dispatch, and spoke my sentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majesty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my last audience, and, together with the form of the treaty signed by us both, I presented to him the two letters from his Britannic majesty, and another letter wrote to his majesty, since my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all those letters to him.

Beaumont in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was hourly expected in London, from whence she would go directly to Windsor, to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause a disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that, happily, there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the duke of Brunswick, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence

they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded that the deputies of the Low Countries would never consent to it, though the emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed, that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them, that they would not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permission which James had given them to raise soldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by lord

Bucclough, whom they had accepted as colonel of these recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by saying, that, in order to be still more perfectly informed of every thing that passed, and to remind the king of England of his promises, if necessary, he was going himself to Windsor. I take no notice of those passages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the highest praises to my conduct and my negociation.

Villeroi having finished reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, cousin," said Henry, addressing himself to the count of Soissons, "what do you think of all this? give "me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require it of me," said he, "I "must say, that I think the marquis of Rosny has very "great credit with the king of England, and that he is "in a marvellous good intelligence with the English, "at least if his relation, and all which you have been "informed of, be true; for which reason he ought to "have brought much more advantageous conditions, "and a treaty in a better form than that which he has "presented to you, which is really nothing more than "a mere project of hopes and fair words, without any "certainty that they will ever be executed." "What "you have said is truly very fine and good," replied Henry: "nothing is so easy as to discover faults in the "actions of others." His majesty still continued to speak as if to make my apology, and at the same time my eulogy. He said, I was the only person in France who, with so limited a power, could have performed what I had: that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen

and expected the difficulties with which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me a carte-blanche. "Rosny," said he, "has, in his conduct, given "me an example, which confirms to me the truth of a "Latin proverb, though I do not know whether I speak "it right, *Mitte sapientem, et nihil dicas:* and I am cer- "tain, that, if his presence should again become "necessary on the other side, he will always be "ready to return, and serve me with the same ability "and address which he has here shown." I suppress great part of what, upon this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired him with for my defence; what gave me the most sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as infinitely superior to all the praises he bestowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praising me to my face, because he knew that those praises, instead of making me vain and less diligent, would only increase my desire of acting still better. These words silenced the count of Soissons.

I then answered several questions which the king asked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the character of the English, and what they thought of their new king. After this, the conversation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumstantial relation of it, assured me that he approved of my conduct therein, considering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuse him, or openly to vindicate him. I also acquainted his majesty with the

character of young Servin,* such as I have already given. The king having twice asked whether dinner was ready, went in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repose till the next day, as being what I must very much want, after having rode post, and that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait to serve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants should arrive; "and to morrow morning," said he, "we will renew our discourse."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest which he had intended in the morning; in the evening, he sent me for my supper two excellent melons and four partridges: at the same time acquainting me that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his counsellors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny," said he, "we will take a walk while the freshness of the morning continues; I have some questions "to ask you, and some matters to discuss, on which I "have been thinking the whole night. I arose at four "o'clock, these things having pressed my thoughts so "strongly, that I could not sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and

* L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is surprising," says he, "how it "could happen, that the plague should find means to attack so great a "plague as he was."

Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner, during the three following days which his majesty passed at Villers-Coterets. In these conversations I gave him an exact and particular account of all the most secret and important matters, which he still remained to be acquainted with.

I received several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a supplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else; she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

During all this the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was

not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it: I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which however could only be attributed to this prince's distate of business, and his passion for the chase, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural disposition, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct, as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (where he at last arrived) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrusts, and suspicions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs; this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors, by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Span-

iard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English Catholics* against James's person. Beaumont treated this rather as a calumny, than truth; considering, as he said, the weakness of the Catholics in England, and the few men of courage to be found amongst them. Towards the end of this year also was discovered the conspiracy of Raleigh, Cobham, Grey, and Markham,† to assassinate the king, though they had been the most faithful of the late queen's servants, and the first to acknowledge her successor; it was believed they were instigated by Spain and the archdukes. This, added to a religious dispute, which arose in the conference between the Protestants and Puritans,‡ increased the disorder. The conversation of the court turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The earl of Northumberland struck colonel Vere in the face, in presence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was justly incensed at so disrespectful and outrageous an insult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's presence, and used several other atro-

* It produced a proclamation, whereby king James banished the Jesuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 217.

† See the different writers of this period respecting this dark and doubtful affair: also Lodge's Illustrations, vol. III. p. 215. EDIT.

‡ The conference here alluded to was, I suppose, that held at Hampton Court, in the beginning of 1604, respecting some parts of the church service. See Spottiswood. EDIT.

cious expressions; but they were reconciled to the king by asking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence; after which, without any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preserves the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

When, from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all these public and private differences, I found the affair was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic majesty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleasure ratified the plan concerted between his majesty and me, and that he had sent the count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the king my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I wrote at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty, signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France

at London, and that of England* at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

Beaumont having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed, and confirmed, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval having arrived in France from Beaumont, with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgements to his Britannic majesty in a second letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents, we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of king James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured wherever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

Thus was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice, from the accession of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the cause of those great armaments which she fitted out this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish galleys, manned with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped,

* Sir Thomas Parry. EDIT.

were beaten by only four Dutch vessels; which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours; she made herself mistress of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the port of Lisbon, for the embarkation of twenty thousand soldiers. This work was pursued with such indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

Every one formed his own opinion on the object of such formidable preparations: some said, they were designed against Flanders, particularly Ostend; others, that they were destined for the conquest of Barbary, because the king of Cusco having promised the council of Madrid to assist that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a supply of men and money, which that prince kept to himself, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many persons were persuaded that Spain had a design upon France itself: the first notice his majesty received of it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it; but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room

to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking Henry too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration what was carrying on with king James, by a double negociation of France and Spain at the same time; and his majesty took the part which prudence directed, which was to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monsieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lesdiguieres, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon that city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some of the Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and protracted warfare which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However the transportation of arms from France into Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault* caused five thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low Countries, in violation of this order.

The long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa, with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out. He had sailed for the coast of Villa-Franca, as if with a design to take the three sons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an oppor-

* Emerick Gobier de Barrault.

tunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the states,* the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably because he flattered himself that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa Francha; nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design; but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him certain honours, nor esteeming him so highly as he thought he deserved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he should act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for staying longer at Nice, where, said these conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had discovered the reason of his departure to be, an order which they supposed he had received from Spain to go and join his squadron to the great naval armament of the Spaniards: but possibly the council of Madrid had nothing else in view, but to accustom her neighbours to preparations and movements, for which they could not guess the cause. However this may be, it did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of some time longer at Nice, they passed on the twentieth of June within view of Marseilles, without saluting the castle of If; their convoy

* The second of these princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal.

consisted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, some other Spanish troops were upon the march from Flanders. His majesty was the more attentive to their motions, because he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the secret was discovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treasurer of France, in Languedoc. These troops, as I was informed by his majesty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and passed the bridge of Gresin on the first of July; they consisted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a small body of troops, with a view, no doubt, to hasten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the same month. The remainder of the Spanish troops that were drawn from Italy, consisted of four thousand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint-George, who took the same rout.

Notwithstanding these supplies, by which the archdukes received a great accession of strength, Henry was still of opinion that the Spaniards would not complete their enterprise upon Ostend this year; they themselves seemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being considerably diminished. The thousand horse that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by desertion to less than five hundred, and those that remained were so great an expense to their own commanders, that they expected to be soon obliged to disband them. Such was the situation of the United Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewise another advantage over their enemies; a small num-

ber of Dutch vessels who were going to load spices, meeting with fourteen Portuguese galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chase, took five, in which they found great riches, and dispersed the rest.

Europe, during the course of this year, had not more tranquillity in the east, than the west. Mahomet the third, to secure himself, as he thought, on the throne, caused twenty of his brothers to be strangled. Buried in the recesses of his seraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abused his authority, and was first informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that showed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas who directed the council of the sultana-mother, and the banishment of this sultana herself, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own son, and the sultana, his wife, to death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

II. But it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and went to Paris, to attend my usual employments: these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in office, bring in exact accounts; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot, a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to provide sums necessary to retain the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those who resided in foreign courts for this purpose; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and economy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his majesty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the

state, at the head of which his majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more necessary the king thought it to soothe and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian residents at Paris; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly exposed to view, and served for a monument to posterity, of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new economy which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the king drew from different places, and lessened the presents his majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods to supply this deficiency, to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of satisfying them, consented so much the more willingly, as it cost him nothing; this was to prevail on his majesty to pass innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges, and tolls upon particular branches of trade, to be enjoyed by them, exclusively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promised profit, which did not enter the head of one or other among those who thought they had a right to some favour from the king; interest gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately swarmed with those petty monopolies, which, singly, are of little consequence, but altogether are very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the least obstruction produces mischief. I thought it my duty to make fre-

quent and earnest remonstrances to the king on this subject, and therefore made no scruple to expose myself to the anger of the count of Soissons, with whom, as I have already said, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The count of Soissons presented a petition to the king at Fontainebleau, in which he proposed that a grant should be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported; a design that must certainly have been suggested to him by some of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himself; nor did he know all the consequences of it, at least he assured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thousand livres a year, and so well persuaded him of the truth of what he had asserted, that his majesty, who thought himself obliged to bestow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewise vanquished by repeated importunities, granted his request, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther solicitations about it, caused an edict to be drawn up for the count, which he signed, and the seal was placed to it; but some remains of a scruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully sensible of, made him, in granting this favour, reserve a verbal condition, that it should not exceed fifty thousand livres, press too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

That evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have some suspicion that he was imposed upon: he wrote to me instantly, and proposed the thing to me as an indifferent question, without telling me what had passed, or naming any person. I knew not what to think of such a demand, but set my-

self to work, and, taking to my assistance the accounts of the customs and domain, and entries of provisions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would be no less than three hundred thousand crowns; and I could not but think it still of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it seemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majesty. The king confessed to me all that had happened, with many marks of astonishment that his confidence had been thus abused. The true remedy had been to have caused the edict to be brought back, and have entirely suppressed it, as being obtained under false pretences: but, that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soissons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majesty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourse to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from registering the edict. All that was necessary for this purpose, was to send no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine: this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the sovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not register any thing. I was certain, however, and I told his majesty so, that this expedient would not preserve me from the resentment of the count, and of the marchioness de Verneuil, who I discovered, was concerned in this business; but I resolved to hold firm against the count, provided his majesty would be proof likewise against the solicitations of his mistress, which he promised me, and added, that he would openly support me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soissons came to my house, and paid me many compliments, having, as he said, occasion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length; he thought by showing me great kindness, and condescending to be familiar with me, he should easily obtain my signature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpose he demanded it. I answered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never signed any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he must have recourse to other means; he acquainted me with what his majesty had lately done for him, and said, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the sovereign courts, and me, the signature which he requested was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I assumed an air still more serious, and pretended to be greatly surprised that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom resolutions of such consequence were always made known; and from thence took occasion to tell the count, that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that therefore he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design, and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his teeth concern-

ing our former quarrels, and he went to vent his rage at the house of the marchioness de Verneuil.

This lady, although, as much enraged with me as the count of Soissons, nevertheless had come to make me a visit, just as I was leaving my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon him, in favour of the people, who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty busi-"ness, madam," answered I in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was "you are not "the last among those who are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you intend to do "with this?" said she. "I intend," answered I, "to "make some remonstrances to the king upon it." "Truly," replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen, "he will have little to do to take your advice, "and offend so many great people. And on whom, pray, "would you have the king confer favours, if not on "those who are mentioned in this writing, his cousins, "friends, and mistress?" "What you say, madam," replied I, "would be reasonable enough, if his majesty "took all the money out of his own purse; but to make a "new levy upon the merchants, artists, labourers, and "countrymen, it will never do; it is by them that the "king and all of us are supported, and 'tis enough that

"they provide for a master, without having so many "cousins, friends, and mistresses to maintain."

Madam de Verneuil lost none of my words, she dwelt particularly upon the last; and, in the rage with which she was transported, made use of them to form a thousand wicked slanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soissons, and told him, that I had said the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his services, he told him, that I had so outrageously injured his honour, that he must absolutely have my life, unless his majesty would himself do him justice. Henry, seeing him in such violent emotion, asked him with great composure, what I had done or said, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another person. The count not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty's presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie: "If that be the case, cousin," said the king, in a tone that disconcerted him, "you will not "be like one in your family; for we consider it as ex- "cellent in this way, particularly your elder brother: "but since it is a report made to you, tell me who made "it, and what he said, and then I shall know what I "ought to do, and will endeavour to satisfy you, if you "will hear reason." The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he

received his information, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, cousin," replied the king, "you excuse yourself from answer-"ing my question, on account of an oath you have ta-"ken to the contrary; and I likewise will take an oath "to believe no more of your complaint, than what mon-"sieur de Rosny himself shall acknowledge to me, for "I have as good an opinion of his veracity, as you can "possibly have of those who tell you these fine tales."

The count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it, which he did by Zamet and la Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioness de Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" said the king, when these words were repeated to him, "we need not doubt any "longer from whence this mischief proceeds, since "madam de Verneuil is named, for she is so full of "malice, and has such a ready invention, that to the "least word of monsieur de Rosny's she would add a "hundred, nay a thousand; but for all that, this affair "must not be neglected." The rage in which his majesty saw the count, gave him reason to apprehend that he would take some violent resolution against me; he therefore sent la Varenne to tell me, that I should never stir out of my house without being well attended, and that he desired I would spare nothing for my security; adding, with great goodness, that all that he

could employ in protecting me, would be far below what it would cost him if he should lose me.*

I cannot quit the subject of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign vessels that anchored in our ports. This, in reality, was no more than what was paid by our vessels in foreign ports; nevertheless, it was with regret, and only by his majesty's express orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of those exactions which was most likely to depress the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great opposition to the registering it, and the marshal d'Ornano bestirred himself greatly, having money owing him from the state which had been charged upon that part for his reimbursement. The establishment of commissioner examiners, *lieutenant particuliers, assesseurs-criminels*, and other officers of justice, met with no less difficulty from the same court of Rouen, which, more than any other, opposed all these new edicts; the last were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long

* L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soissons to be contented with a letter of satisfaction which M. de Rosny wrote to him; and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV made the count de Soissons, and the marquis de Rosny come into his apartment and reconciled them. Ibid. 592. De Thou also speaks of it, b. cxxix. The steadiness of M. de Rosny has procured him great commendations from our historians. "He had no consideration for "any thing," says father Chalons, "but the king's service; nor could any "respect for persons of the greatest quality, princes, or even the queen "herself, prevail on him to make the least concession, where he thought "the king's interest or glory came in question: this caused him many ene"mies, and was the cause that, after the king's death, the queen took the "management of affairs out of his hands." Hist. de Fr. vol. III. p. 255.

time for their pay, in consequence of these regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs, that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouse this year, which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debate ran contrary to him.

The quarrel between the count of Soissons and me made a great noise; but the king, to show me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court. The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest: but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident; the rivers were so much swelled by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed,* the fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of the servants; the ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage and which had been filled up to make the approach more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages. I

* I believe l'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king," he adds, "laughing, told M. de Rosny, that heaven and earth were combined against "him, and that he ought to take good care of himself."

had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed. The waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

His majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, (who was accused of carrying on a correspondence with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, and particularly with Tremouille, whose kinsman he was), and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caën the king passed through Rouen,* where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as has been already mentioned,† the princess Catherine had proposed for the duke of Rohan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by monsieur and madam de Fervaques, for monsieur de Laval, the son of that lady. His majesty, at Rouen, ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

The affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewise a share in it.‡ He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness

* "The king was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness, as to "void blood, which the physicians said, was occasioned by his having eaten "too great a quantity of raw oysters." L'Etoile, an. 1603.

† See vol. II. p. 161.

‡ It is in vain to attempt any justification of the duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the count d'Auvergne; b. v.

without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful, and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He circulated a writing this year, in which the whole body of the Protestants was exclaimed against in a most outrageous manner: he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, which he seconded, on his part, by affecting to be greatly alarmed at the miseries which, it was said, were about to fall upon the Protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed persons that Bouillon always imposed; and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of Protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which du Plessis extolled the duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expense, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

Of all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to rekindle a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the Protestants

to insert, amongst their articles of confession, that the pope is the Antichrist: surely it could not be called a spirit of religion, but rather of discord and intrigue, that presided at the decision of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewise proposed to send printed to all the universities of Europe. As soon as the king was informed of this scandalous proceeding, he sent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had resided since his return from Normandy, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the Protestants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith* from being received. Villeroi likewise, by his commands, pressed me to exert myself on this occasion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain and Desbordes;† and whether it was owing to the arguments I made use of to show them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they saw was resolved not to spare them, I know not, but the article in question was at length suppressed. The pope, I believe, was under great apprehensions about it; for he was so extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majesty could appease him: and probably it was to this incident that the Jesuits owed their re-establishment in France. The holy father had the consolation to see his dominions filled with an accession of monks of every kind, reformed Augustins, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant friars; and amongst the other sex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and Carmelites: so many religious orders were never instituted at one time as in this year.

* See the Life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find steps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this absurd tenet.

† Deputies from the Calvinist party to reside at court, according to the custom of that time.

The boldness of the Protestants, on this occasion, will not appear so surprising, if it be considered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another, when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would long feel the effects of them: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, la Tremouille, Lesdiguieres, and du Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; thus, by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I honestly own I lost my labour on all sides.

While these complaints of the Protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpensier, cardinal Joyeuse, and the duke d'Epernon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only by a bow. "We were talking," said the king, "of "the government of Poitou, and they have advised me "to give it to you; could you have imagined this? they

"being such good Catholics, and you such an obstinate "Huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very old and infirm, and he intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all his estates were situated in the provinces of which he was at present governor, he gave up his claim to Malicorne, and both had come to resign this government to the king, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

Henry likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than any other person, even those who were so near to him. I had nothing to allege, but the knowledge his majesty had of my fidelity and ardour for his service. The king replied, that his true reason for giving it me, was, because I was an Huguenot, but a reasonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the Protestants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly satisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no less so, since I was capable of inspiring them with more dutiful sentiments, of giving them just notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodness, and to respect and love his person; and that, by suffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to pass through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon still preserved amongst them might be destroyed. His majesty added (without doubt because these three gentlemen, who were also joined by Brissac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were present) that although he felt so strong an affection for his religion, as

to wish with the utmost ardour to see it embraced by all the Huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made use of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban, especially to free him from the oppression of Spain, to assist him in supporting his just claims, and to save even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however discontented he might be with those cities for discovering less duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheless he thought himself obliged in honour, to continue the same gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated several instances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon," said he, "was "there to excite them to sedition;" and could not hinder himself from saying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the Protestants.

After this, his majesty told me, that I might treat directly with Messrs. de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the state, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and in praise of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words, or by low bows. I dispatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he transacted the business with such prudence, that by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, du Fresne

sent me, on the sixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres; namely, twelve thousand livres from the government of Mante and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendant of the fortifications, and of buildings.

III. I must not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially those of silk. Henry, who embraced with eagerness every thing which, in his opinion, could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded, by les Bourgs and des Cumans, that it was a very easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade in this manufacture with foreigners. For this purpose, all that was necessary, said they, was to give encouragement to silk-weavers, to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sorts of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I remember that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great

expense, we had a pretty warm debate about it: "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion, "I know not, what whim this is, that "you have taken in your head, to oppose a scheme so "well calculated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, "to root out idleness from among the people, and "which I should find so much satisfaction in complet-"ing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed to himself in the execution of those great designs, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I intreated him not to be offended with me, if I presumed to tell him, that I could not, as he did, see either glory or utility resulting from this establishment. I then asked him, if he would permit me to give him my reasons for thinking so differently from him. "I give you leave," said he, "but upon condition "that you afterwards hear mine, which, I am persuad-"ed, will be more convincing than yours." I then made the following observations to his majesty:

It is through a wise dispensation of Providence, which designs that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be obliged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other, that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France has the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distri-

bution of benefits, that no country probably, in the world, except Egypt, so universally abounds with whatever supplies the necessities, or contributes to the mere conveniences of life; her corn, grain, and pulse, her wine, ciders, flax, hemp, salt, wool, oil, dying drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to have nothing to envy in her neighbours on the score of any of these commodities, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is true, her climate denies her silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon, for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection, during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties, which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprise, the success of which they do not render doubtful, but impossible, a real loss to us? That is the question.

A country life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work; therefore it is necessary to begin, by curing people of this lazy disposition, which,

if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment? first, they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common observation, at all times, and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous peasantry: if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and energy of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

At the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagance, which it is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into.

In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandises, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of clothes and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI, Charles VIII, and Lewis XII.* That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort of stuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of

* Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV, against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the History of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times.—"The next day," says the writer of these Memoirs, "they "waited on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; "for Henriot having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately "raised him; and having turned him round, the better to survey his old-"fashioned dress, being a short holiday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket "and the rest of his clothes ornamented with silks of different kinds, in the "manner they were formerly worn by merchants, he said to him, 'Honest "friend, what reason can you and your company have to complain, when "you are much finer than I am? Is not this damask, this taffety?' &c. And "after turning them into ridicule sent them away without giving them any "other satisfaction; which made them say, as they were returning, 'The "servant is ruder and haughtier than his master." Vol. II. p. 278.

fancy; and the price that is set upon them an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to consider, though but with the slightest attention, the source of what is called *the fashion*, we should find to our shame and confusion, that a small number of persons, and those the most despicable of a great city, which contains all classes indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we should feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compassion we have for fools, that these very men dispose nevertheless of our purses, and keep us enslaved to their caprices.

But silk clothes are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with respect to diamonds, jewels, statues, and pictures, if it be considered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and silver: we must likewise take into consideration, equipages, plate, furniture, and every thing in which these metals are made use of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the sums squandered foolishly in gardens, buildings, costly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages set up to auction, what is there that does not want reformation? we cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the least necessity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endless digression: these two bodies, of which the one ought to be the guardians of good order, and the other of economy, seem only to have been brought into the world to destroy both the one and the other. These are the

only people who know what it is to be rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be seen by the manner in which they spend it: the old chancellors, first presidents, counsellors of state, and the other heads of the courts and the revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles.*

* Though silks and other articles of luxury, are, in strictness, no otherwise good or bad than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to the latter than to the former purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the Christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments: but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently; they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor cannot happen again; the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundance of money, otherwise an useless drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences arise from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford; besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, subordination, or a military spirit.

As to what relates to silks, should we even suppose, with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silks at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufactures of stuffs of all kinds which was begun in

I said every thing I could think of on this subject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments "are very strong," said he to me: "and I would rather "choose to fight the king of Spain in three pitched bat-"tles, than engage all these people of the law, the offi-"ces, and the city especially, their wives and daughters, "whom you have brought upon my back, with all your "whimsical regulations." "Then it is your pleasure, "Sire," replied I, "that I should speak to you no more "upon this subject; however, time and experience will "convince you, that France is not fitted for these gew-"gaws." I was obliged to content myself with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and the whole of that inclosure, for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I represented to him, that he would one day destroy what it would cost him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a design, far more noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building of a very different kind.* "We'll talk of that when it happens," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed

the reign of Henry IV, will always compel us to speak in praise of that prince. See on this article, l'Essai Politique sur le Commerce, chap. 9, p. 105, second edit. 1736.

* The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent square of seventy-two fathom on each side, which was to be called the *Square of France;* eight streets were to have opened into it, of eight toises in breadth, bearing the names of so many provinces. The design for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV put a stop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *Royal Square.*

Zamet, who came to tell him that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his house, was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expense Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and his hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns, a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot: I could not, though I risked the danger of losing his affection, be silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand livres to madam de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchase, at this price, that domestic quiet which was so often interrupted by his wife and his mistress; but fortunately for him, he escaped all broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a mistake, which the king did me the honour to inform me of.

The colony that was sent to Canada this year, was among the number of those things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the sieur du Mont.*

* See in the Septenary, the description of a voyage made to Canada, by the sieur du Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to l'Essai politique sur le Commerce.

Liberty and protection, these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state, may in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons but to whole companies acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget observing here, that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies was established in France, under the reign of Henry IV, and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerrard-le-Roy. The edict of its establishment, which bears date the 1st of June, 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and sixth articles are something remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have since so often occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time; it was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert to place it on a more solid and durable basis. The history of this company, the many advantages whereof are at present more known than ever, would carry me too far; and is moreover to be found already in many good books.

BOOK XVII.

1604.

I. Medals presented to his majesty by Rosny. Death of the dutchess of Bar: particulars concerning her death, and the disputes which it occasioned. Deliberations upon the re-establishment of the Jesuits. Conversations of Rosny with Henry, and the arguments which he urges against their re-establishment: the conditions upon which they are recalled: protection granted them by Henry. Father Cotton makes his court to Rosny.—II. Memorial against cardinal d'Ossat; sentiments of Rosny not favourable to this cardinal or the policy of the Catholics. Treachery of Nicolas l'Hôte; how discovered: particulars upon this subject. Villeroi's conduct examined.—III. Rosny's sentiments upon the difference of religion. Promotion of cardinals, and affairs of Rome.—IV. Curious conversation of Henry with Rosny, upon the domestic disorders occasioned by the queen and the marchioness de Verneuil.

I. I BEGAN this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their majesties with two purses of silver medals. When I went to pay them the accustomed compliments on the first day of the new year, I came into their chamber so early in the morning that I found them still in bed. Besides the purse of silver, I had caused two purses of gold medals to be struck, which they received with great pleasure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and la Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the conversation turned entirely upon these medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in an-

cient history concerning Darius and Zopyrus.* The king was the more pleased with the design, because he found it affect the malcontents of France in such a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majesty the next day made me a present of his picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value.

The death of the dutchess of Bar, his majesty's only sister,† was the first event this year in which the court

* As an explanation of these medals would be of little consequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any of the other years. Those who interest themselves in subjects of this nature, may see the series of these medals, vol. II. p. 6, of the Old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

† The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned, was entirely groundless: her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with child, though she was not. Andrew Du-Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect, as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life, at the expense of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du-Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as she loved her's. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus:*

Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major:
Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem.

was interested; his majesty appeared greatly afflicted at it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen, and officers of his bedchamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household; the same regulation was observed in the queen's family.

The dutches of Bar, before she left France, had contracted some debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princess had been prevented only by death from discharging them, since she had sent jewels from Lorrain to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a seizure of her houses, furniture, and other effects. Her houses were, a palace at Paris,* a house

Her corpse was carried to Vendome, and deposited by that of her mother, queen Jane d'Albret. The pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long solicited, but the dutchess died before it arrived in Lorrain.

Henry IV took it much amiss, that the pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on the death of his sister, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not," added he, "the least doubt of my sister's being saved." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. anno 1604.

What Amelot de la Houssay advances in his notes on cardinal d'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for the notion, that the design of the journey the duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on.

* The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons, formerly called the queen's palace, because it had belonged to queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her grand-daughter, Christina of Lorrain; but by reason of queen Catherine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the

at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint-Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and closets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wished to have for that purpose; but they had made the dutchess's debts so considerable, that he did not think it fit to desire them till they were all cleared. These debts amounted to twenty thousand livres.

I was afterwards commissioned by his majesty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princess: what rendered this employment very difficult to execute, besides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the specifying of those that the king of France and the duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princess had pawned in Paris: madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princess was possessed of either before or after her arrival in Lorrain, and of what her furniture in France consisted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was registered with great exactness, in the presence of two or three members of the council, named by his majesty, and the duke of Lorrain's commissioners; and this done, each of the two princes took possession of those effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The duchess's palace at Paris was, by the king, destined to be sold, because part of the money for which it was first purchased was not yet paid; and the sum produced by this sale was sufficient

dutches of Bar. It was sold again in 1604, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of prince Eugene.

to satisfy the first owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the house of Fontainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint-Germain to the marchioness de Verneuil. But as this sale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding sureties, it was, by their consent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels should be deposited in my hands, without any other security than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was discharged by a writing, dated 28th June, 1605, and signed by des Marquets and Bontempts. I shall now proceed to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which I have promised to give some account of.

Notwithstanding the arret that seemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever settling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their interests, and to make, even in his majesty's council, such a great number of protectors, whose voices, joined to the earnest and almost continual solicitations of the pope, the house of Lorrain, and many other persons both within and without the kingdom, so greatly strengthened their party, that it was not possible for Henry to resist any longer; and indeed it must be confessed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jesuits who had gained access to his person on account of what had passed the preceding year during his journey to Metz, behaved with so much address, and made such advantage of that permission, that Henry began to see them with pleasure,* and even to admit them familiarly to his

* The favourable reception the Jesuits met with at court and in Paris, was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who

presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who, we may be assured, had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, was the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet show himself; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not agreeable at this time.

When the Jesuits were thus secure of great part of the court, and flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they presented a petition in form to his majesty, who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the chancellor, messieurs de Chateauneuf, Pontcarré, Villeroi, Maisses, the president de Thou, Caligñon, Jeannin, Sillery, de-Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from la Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the Jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what passed.*

the most effectually assisted the pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the Jesuits. This Jesuit putting Henry IV in mind of his promise to recall that order at a proper time, said to him, "Sire, your time is "now come; it is nine months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at the end of nine months." "True, father Mayo," answered that prince, "but do not you know kings go longer than women do?" Chronol. Septen. anno 1603.

* The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's resolution touching the recall of the Jesuits, sent the first president de Harlay as their deputy to his majesty, to present their remonstrance against it. The president spoke to the king with great vehemence; the substance of his speech

His majesty would have been very well satisfied to have had me of this council, and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bed-chamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majesty so much surprise that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises which envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that he laid the prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only answerable for all the inconveniences which they foresaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the Jesuits' re-

may be seen in de Thou, who, after having related, as an eye witness, what passed on this occasion between the king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, *The King's Answer to the Remonstrance of the Parliament*, and which is a continued series of reproaches from that prince to the first president, and of praises of the Jesuits: whereas, the only answer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testify in favour of M. de Thou; but, on the other side, this answer of Henry IV, whether true or fictitious, is set forth in the 4th volume of Villeroi's State Memoirs, p. 400; and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV himself furnished with memoirs of his history, vol. II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, father Daniel has cited it in his History of France, in folio, vol. III. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV at least in substance; and M. de Thou agrees, that after the king's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid registering it, his majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maisses, one of his secretaries of state, to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.

quest, for every one knew it was a nice affair. I guessed Sillery's motives for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

The council being assembled, and myself present, as one of the members, the question was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroy, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said, that these gentlemen, as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state and the king's inclinations, than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him: instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him, that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject where my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it was with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many who were present expected to have an opportunity of doing: and had even done it before hand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and I added in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but, that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And in reality I was resolved to have a conference with his majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then,"

said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my last words, "that we must wait "for your opinion till you have taken a journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the Protestants held their assemblies. "Sir," replied I, "your enigma "is not very obscure; however, I assure you, that as in "religious matters, not men, but the words of God, are "my oracles, so in affairs of state I am guided only by "the voice and the will of the king; which I intend to "be particularly informed of, before any thing be de-"termined upon a business of this importance." Then addressing myself to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice somewhat raised, that great inconveniences must infallibly be the consequence of a precipitate resolution in this case.

After this discourse, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had just before declined, the constable taking advantage of the hint I had furnished him with, and pleased likewise with having an opportunity to do me some service, (for, ever since that he had received from me in the affair of marshal Biron, his former prejudice against me was changed into a sincere affection,) said, that he was entirely of my opinion, as to the necessity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his majesty, before any thing was resolved on; and added, that it would not even be improper to desire him to be present at their debates, if it were only to put a stop to those little heats and animosities, that had already begun to appear in our first sitting. Villeroi showing an impatience to proceed, which surprised every one who knew his disposition, said, that since this affair could no otherwise be terminated than

by the re-establishment of the Jesuits, it was needless to protract it any longer; and, after giving all the weight he could to his holiness's interposition, and answering for the faithful performance of the promises made by the society, he explained the motives of the king's conduct in this affair, who had not, he said, referred it to a council, the members of which were all appointed by himself, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himself the annulling, by his authority, so solemn an arret of parliament as that against the Jesuits; and concluded, by complaisantly saying, that it was fit his majesty should be spared the disagreeable necessity of deciding solely this question. Villeroi certainly highly honoured us all by this speech; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroi had done ours; he shook his head, and said, that, if his majesty's design had been such as Villeroi had represented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the decision of the parliament, as likewise the examination of the Jesuits' proposals; and hence taking occasion to give his own sentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwise, and the danger that would result from it, both to the state and his own person, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not speaking like a courtier: but neither his advice nor that of Villeroi was followed. The rest of the counsellors declared, by a single word, that they thought it necessary his majesty should be applied to, before they proceeded any farther; and thus ended our first sitting.

On the following day I went to the king, and informed him of every thing that had been said during our meeting; I also recalled to his recollection what the king of England communicated to him through me respecting the Jesuits, and requested him either to dispense with my taking a part in so difficult an affair, or to inform me of the manner in which he wished I should act, after which, I said, I would blindly follow his will, the only thing that could ever induce me to vote for the repeal of on arret of parliament, which, while it testified the love of his subjects towards him, to the shame of those who had attempted his life, was a terror to all those who might entertain similar designs; neither could I otherwise agree to the re-establishment of a sect from whom many evils and dangers were to be dreaded, and little advantage or benefit to be hoped for. "Well, "well!" said the king, "since we have leisure to dis- "cuss this subject, and as we are here, in private, tell "me candidly every thing you apprehend, and I will "then tell you what I hope for, so that we may see "whose reasons have the most weight. "Sire," I replied, "if you undertake to defend the cause of the Je- "suits, it must be very bad indeed if I do not think it a "good one; for since you have already concluded in "your own mind what is to be done with regard to them, "it would be impertinent in me to argue to the contrary, "or to allege reasons which can be of no avail, since "they will not be admitted by you." "No, no," answered his majesty, "I never suffer myself to be carried "away by bad notions, or my mind to be so wedded to "any opinions, as to refuse to listen to better ones "when they are suggested to me; therefore, do not "hesitate to tell me your sentiments, to which I will

"pay all reasonable attention." "Sire," said I, "since "your majesty is willing to represent the advantages "which are to be hoped for from the re-establishment "of this society in France, I will dispense with it en- "tirely; for I must confess I am very averse to it, and "will content myself with mentioning, among many in- "conveniences to be apprehended, seven of the princi- "pal ones: in the first place, it seems to me incredible "that minds, so accustomed by long habit, that it is be- "come natural in them, by conscientious motives, and "reasons of policy as well as of state, to desire and "promote by every possible means the prosperity of the "Spanish faction, and the house of Austria, and to see "their dominion extended over all the other poten- "tates of Christendom, should desist entirely, and all "on a sudden, from a design which it would appear "can only be practicable by the destruction of your "person, and the ruin of the French monarchy, the "only two obstacles to it. My second cause of appre- "hension, sire," I continued, "is, that this society "(whose members, I confess, are not only men of ge- "nius, but full of cunning and artifice), once re-esta- "blished in full liberty, without any restrictions (as I "see they are likely to be), they will exite hatred and "animosity amongst your subjects and servants of dif- "ferent religions, by means of their private conversa- "tions, deceitful propositions, their sermons, confes- "sions, and penances;—thirdly, that they will so gain "your ear, nay, even your heart, as to obtain the pow- "er of removing from, or introducing about, your per- "son, or into the administration of your affairs, all those "whom they may think proper, in which case I will "doubtless be the object against whom their principal

"efforts will be directed.—Fourthly, that blind obedi-
"ence, which the Jesuits have sworn to observe to the
"pope, and to their general, depriving them of all power
"of following their own will, or natural inclinations,
"no reasonable dependence can be placed on their
"oaths, promises, or professions, since they have sworn
"to change their sentiments on the slightest mandate
"of their general, who, if not a Spaniard, is always in
"the interests of Spain, or of the pope, who dare not
"displease that power, while he continues as he is at
"present, cooped up by Sicily, Naples, Milan, Florence,
"(the duke of which trembles at the very name of
"Spain), the states of Genoa, and others, all which
"your majesty commanded me to represent to the king
"of England; nor can the pope, with all his holiness,
"disengage himself but by your invasion of Naples and
"Milan, which I hold to be very easy, if you act as you
"ought and may; but this is a design which the Jesuits
"will never consent to, since you cannot carry it into
"effect without the aid of the Protestants, and others of
"the reformed religion. My fifth cause of apprehen-
"sion is, that they will plunge your majesty into a civil
"war with your Protestant subjects, as being the most
"infallible, nay the sole means of weakening yourself
"and the kingdom, by depriving you of your best and
"most valiant officers and soldiers, exhausting your
"finances, and ruining your people, so that you may
"never have it in your power to undertake any thing
"against Spain, or recover from her what she has
"usurped. The sixth, and the most important cause,
"and which affects me most of all, nay penetrates
"my very heart when I think of it, is, that by means of
"their cunning and flattery, this people will attain to so

"great familiarity with your majesty, and your princi-
"pal ministers and servants, as to have it in their pow-
"er to introduce about your person those who may
"take away your life by posion or some other means.
"Lastly, certain memoirs which have been sent to me
"from Italy, in which it is attempted to persuade me
"that I ought to inform your majesty that a plan has
"been for some time formed by some of your principal
"servants, who were formerly of the party of the league
"in France, to induce you to break off all connexion
"with your old and well-tried allies and confederates, who
"are enemies of the Catholic religion and the holy see;
"but that, not daring to make the proposal to you them-
"selves, they have disposed the pope, by means of a
"person who is entirely devoted to them, to write to you
"respecting it; and these memoirs are so circumstantial,
"that should your majesty ever peruse them, you have
"too much prudence and judgment, not to believe some
"part of them." I concluded with telling the king that the substance of this memorial was too long to be detailed then; but if he would give me leave, I would deliver it to him in writing. This he approved of, or rather ordered me to do so. With regard to the other points, he said, it was easy to perceive that I was better prepared than he was, or rather that my arguments were unanswerable; but, that without having recourse to so many subtilties, he thought he had two reasons in his mind which would make me change my opinion; the first was, that having had a conversation with father Mayus, he had candidly confessed to him that the Jesuits had always favoured and promoted the interests and power of Spain, because she had not only admitted them into her states, but had also supported and honoured

them; while on the contrary, they had in other kingdoms, and particularly in France, for upwards of twenty years been persecuted and despised; but that if by a contrary conduct, he should show good-will and affection towards them, he would so far gain over the greater part of the society, that they would give him unequivocal proofs of their entire devotion to him and the crown of France, even to the prejudice of Spain, they being in reality more inclined to the former than the latter; that father Mayus had farther said he could sincerely pledge his word for all those with whom he had conferred, which was a considerable number, and that they would submit, in case of failing in their protestations, to be deprived of all favour, banished the kingdom, nay even prosecuted as traitors. "Now I doubt not," continued the king, "that you have many arguments to "adduce against this, my first reason; but I do not think "you will seek for one against my second, which is, "that I must of necessity, at present, do one of two "things, namely, either admit this body unconditionally, free them from the infamy and opprobrium with "which they have been loaded, and put their fair professions and solemn protestations to the trial, or treat "them more rigorously than ever, in order that they "may neither approach my person nor kingdom, which "would doubtless render them desperate, and make "them engage in plots against my life, which would "make me miserable, as I should then live in continual "terror of being poisoned or assassinated; for these "people carry on correspondences every where, and "have a wonderful skill in persuading others to do "whatever they desire, so that this would be worse "than death itself, for I am of Cæsar's opinion, that

"the easiest is that which is least foreseen or expected.*
"Your majesty," I replied, "is right in supposing that
"I should have nothing to advance against your last
"reason; for, rather than see you live in such appre-
"hension and inquietude, I will agree not only to the
"re-establishment of the Jesuits, but of any other sect
"whatever; therefore, without any further discussion,
"since I find such opinions occupy your majesty's mind,
"I am resolved to solicit their re-establishment, even
"more earnestly than la Varenne could do, of which
"I hope, when the next council shall be held on this
"subject, to give you undeniable proofs." "I cannot
"refrain from expressing to you," said the king, "the
"great satisfaction it affords me to find you in this dis-
"position; and in order to confirm you in it, I will this mo-
"ment remove two of the causes of your apprehensions,
"in which you are particularly interested, by giving you
"my faith and word (which, you know, I would sooner
"die than violate, as I consider them the most essential
"part of royality, and without which no king is worthy
"of the name) that neither Jesuits nor any others, not
"even the pope himself, shall ever be able to make me
"declare war against the Protestants, unless you like-
"wise advise me to do it; or, on account of their reli-
"gion, to dismiss, or withdraw my favour from any of
"them, by whom I find I am faithfully and loyally served,
"and particularly by you, of whom I can say, with the
"utmost sincerity, what you the other day told me Da-

* *Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confestim satius esse, quam cavere semper*, says Suetonius: which does not absolutely signify, that the most unexpected death is the best, as the text expresses it, and which is more consistent with the context.

"rius said of his Zopyrus."* He likewise assured me, that he would endeavour to make the Jesuits entertain the same sentiments of me that he did; and that I should know, before much time was past, in what manner he expected they should behave towards me.

I am not sure whether he did not exert himself on this occasion that very day; for I had a visit from la Varenne the next morning, who desired as a favour, that a Jesuit, who, he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered la Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me, to treat them with a distinguishing respect; and that, if this were not the case, the character he gave me of this Jesuit was sufficient to insure his welcome. This French Jesuit was father Cotton,† whom he brought with him the next day, as I went into the hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The Jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of veneration and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which, he said, he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, interminglèd with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony,

* Zopyrus, a Persian satrape, having cut off his nose, ears, and lips, in order to execute a stratagem, which put Darius in possession of the city of Babylon, that prince used to say, he would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopyrus. Herodotus, b. v.

† Peter Cotton, born in 1564 at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez.

being solicitous to omit nothing the person and present occasion required.

The next day the council, still composed of the same members as before, assembled for the second time; and no affair was ever more quickly dispatched. Without entering into any discussion, or making a needless display of arguments in favour of a question already decided, I said in brief, that the present conjuncture of the times required, that the Jesuits should have a settlement in France. It was resolved, that they should take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial, who was not French by birth: this they swore to perform, and all the past was buried in oblivion. All I have to add is, that during the whole time, I was extremely reserved, and acted with great circumspection, as well with regard to father Molina's opinion of grace, that was published this year, as upon some propositions of three Jesuits, which occasioned high debates between those who favoured, and those who opposed them, especially these two; that the pope's being the successor of St. Peter was not a point of faith, and that confession might be made by letters. On this occasion, the Jesuits were soon sensible how necessary the royal interposition in their favour was to them. Had they been given up to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the Universities, and the most part of the bishops, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the solicitations of la Varenne, gave them his castle of La-Fleche, where they soon founded a very fine college.

II. The restoration of the Jesuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, du Perron, and above all, to d'Ossat, who had not neglected their interests at Rome, where he still resided to manage his majesty's affairs at that court. And here it seems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addressed to me from Italy against this ecclesiastic, and which, as has been observed, I had already mentioned to the king.

His majesty had gone to Chantilly, to spend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableness of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other rural amusements, which his physicians seemed to think necessary for his health. Upon some letters I wrote to him, in which I could not dispense with myself from observing that by his absence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithstanding all the intreaties of his physicians to prevent him. The same evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in question, and asked me for it, by which he only anticipated me, it being my intention to show it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waistcoat, and I left it with him, that he might examine it at his leisure. I had made no alterations in it; nor added any thing, except, perhaps, a few reflections, which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the person against whom it was wrote his majesty's utmost displeasure.

The author of this memorial, who had his reasons for neither mentioning in it his own name, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, endeavoured to prove, that d'Ossat had prevaricated in every point of

his commission, and had accepted it with no other design, than to bring matters to that pass, that the king should be obliged to enter into the views of the Catholic leaguers of his council, of whom the cardinal was the instrument, and to adopt a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto pursued. This new plan, which still breathed the spirit of the league that gave it birth, consisted in uniting France in interest and friendship with the pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, against all the Protestant powers of Europe in general, and the Protestants of this kingdom in particular: to make Henry concur with the pope in placing a Catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United Provinces; to use his authority to procure a general submission to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the Austrian schemes, and all the maxims followed on the other side of the Alps. The Jesuits were to undertake the task of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the deposition of king James was to be the first effects of it.

The author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring these heavy accusations against d'Ossat like a mere declaimer, justified the truth of them by that cardinal's own letters, as well those I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had collected, and by his common discourse at Rome, whether in public, or to my brother, ambassador to that court, and others, in private: he explained the mystery of those almost insurmountable obstacles the holy father made to the king's absolution, and the marriage of the princess his sister: he showed that they proceeded from d'Ossat

himself, who during the whole time that those affairs were depending, abused with impunity the confidence his master reposed in him; and to prevent the reproaches he had reason to expect from him, gave him to understand, that he was under an absolute necessity of persuading the court of Rome, that his majesty was of the same opinion, and that it was with great difficulty he suppressed those reports, which from time to time were spread to the contrary.

It is certain, that throughout this whole affair d'Ossat acted with great art, as likewise in the insinuations he secretly gave the king, that Spain, with respect to him, had only the most pacific intentions, for which the pope was ready to be security. All this is so clear, and supported by the author with such incontestable proofs, that it forces belief, notwithstanding that spirit of hatred and fury, which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes against d'Ossat; he is also reproached in it with assuming the character of a great politician, and a consummate statesman, when he had so much reason to blush for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this ecclesiastic nothing was to be found but the meanness of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman, and owed all the several advantageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practised on Villeroi, and to his slavishly serving the hatred of other Catholic leaguers against the Protestants. At the conclusion of this memorial, the author earnestly intreats the person into whose hands it should happen to fall, to show it to his majesty.

Setting aside all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which shows it came from a

declared enemy, it must still be confessed, that d'Ossat could not escape the reproach of having slandered his sovereign, and been ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to posterity the means of convicting him of those two crimes, in the letters which, through vanity, he caused to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV as a prince who oppressed the clergy, destroyed the nobility, ruined the third estate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

Nor is truth less violated in those furious exclamations he makes against the Protestants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, detestable, sacrilegious, with which he brands a body that professes to agree with himself in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to have the same veneration for the divine writings in which they are contained, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer?

As to his political errors, though in d'Ossat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the less palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the house of Austria were in a manner posted up throughout all Europe, he exposed France to the danger of being the first victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to support her against this proud and insolent monarchy. And what is still more surprising, this destructive policy communicated itself, as if by contagion, to the greatest part of those who were employed in the administration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wisest, though not the smallest party.*

* This system of politics has not been productive of the mischiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occasion; on the contrary, the event of it

It was this policy that in the month of April, this year, exposed Villeroi to one of the greatest mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he set out to Fontainebleau, where it was his custom to keep his Easter, during which there was a cessation of all business in the council, took leave of his counsellors till the Sunday after Easter: but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had discovered some treasonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpose he would order post-horses to be ready for me at Ablon on Easter-Sunday, that I might set out for Fontainebleau

has been as favourable as it possibly could have been. It is nevertheless true, and will in some degree be a justification of our author's manner of reasoning on this occasion, that if the execution of these designs, of which the destruction of the Protestant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than cardinal de Richelieu, the success of it would not only have been doubtful; but if an attempt of so great consequence as this, had by any means miscarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful situation she was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every respect, follow the plan attributed to d'Ossat, Villeroi, &c. since, during his whole life, he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular resources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and in some degree reconcile, both these opposite systems, by entering into the design of weakening the house of Austria, in pursuance of the one; and of destroying Calvinism in France, according to the other of them. I do not know of any one instance that so evidently proves as this does, what a single man is capable of. The Protestants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themselves, after having remained undisturbed full thirty years, were almost at once brought into an entire subjection: this happened, because on the one side there was a cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

when the communion was over I did so, and this was the affair in question:

Villeroi had a clerk in his office named Nicolas l'Hote,* whose family, from father to son, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the person of whom we are now speaking, before he entered into his service, had been secretary to the count de la Rochepot, when he was sent ambassador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that sort that strongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his stay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spanish secretaries of state, don Juan Idiaques, Francheses, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the ambassador his master. When la Rochepot returned to France, l'Hote finding himself without any employment, solicited Villeroi, whose godson he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entrusted to decipher his dispatches, which was very agreeable to l'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his first trade with security.

Barrault,† who succeeded the count de la Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a short time after, that the secrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to discover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular person, he intreated his majesty, in a short

* Or, as others say, Du-Portail.

† Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambassador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was represented, and seeing a Spanish actor throw down the person who performed the character of Francis I, set his foot on his throat, and in the most outrageous terms, oblige him to ask quarter, he leapt upon the stage, and, in sight of the whole house, ran the actor through the body with his sword. Amelot's notes on d'Ossat.

letter addressed to himself, to look upon all the clerks in his secretaries' offices, especially those belonging to Villeroi, as suspected persons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambassadors at the several courts of Europe, who were extremely astonished, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their dispatches were known at these courts as soon as they received them from France, and very often before.

But neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till the former was one day accosted by a Frenchmen of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whose name was John de Leyré, but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he was in the service of the league, having been one* of the most active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himself comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his services, which consisted in revealing some advices he still received from his associates in France, were rewarded by a good pension which was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he soon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the discontinuance of his pension, that his credit was sunk all of a sudden; and changing his battery that instant, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himself with his spoils, not doubting but that if he should succeed, this discovery would

* L'Etoile says, he had been one of the council of sixteen.

purchase his recall to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than those he lost in Spain.

Men educated in the arts of faction, and the mystery of intrigue, have talents for these sort of discoveries peculiar to themselves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named Jon Blas, who had settled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner l'Hote had abused the confidence of his first master. Rafis, struck with this hint, fixed, as by instinct, on this man; having procured from other persons information that he was actually one of Villeroi's secretaries, at that distance his sagacity alone discovered to him what so many others upon the very spot were ignorant of.

His suspicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, (but that care must be taken to prevent his having any suspicion that he was discovered,) on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent pension. Barrault thought the affair of such importance, that he made no scruple to promise both. Rafis likewise exacted a promise from Barrault, and this with a view to his own safety, that he should proceed slowly and cautiously in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the proposals that had been made to him, he should address himself to none but the king. But Barrault understood this last request as an excess of unnecessary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majesty's chief ministers with the affair; and it was Villeroi himself that he informed of Rafis's offer and proposals.

Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, sent the dispatches immediately to the king: but l'Hote being with his master when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpose; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with so much reason been apprehensive he would do; for he wrote instantly to his correspondents in Spain, desiring them to take all the necessary measures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from discovering more. This was the best method he could think of to secure himself, and to prevent any bad consequences; and it would probably have succeeded, had the person concerned been any other than Rafis.

This man, when he received his pardon, which his majesty sent him, together with his answer to his proposals, observed that it was not signed by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had passed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambassador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer necessary to conceal any thing, he told him his reasons for pressing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroi less than any other person: he gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promised him concerning l'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that, to avoid, if it were still possible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmost expedition; and accordingly he mounted his horse that moment; and it was happy for him that he did so, for the next

morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrault's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him, to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their rout without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

On the road they met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroi neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined, that it was not possible for l'Hote to escape. He told the two couriers, that his clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion, that his majesty ought first to be spoke to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound silence. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majesty, which he did the next day.

The king had not yet received these packets on Easter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor; conse-

quently, knew nothing of the arrival of the two couriers, or the name of him who betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi suspected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majesty till the next morning. I found him up and drest, though it was scarcely sun-rise. Barrault's informations had given him great uneasiness: he took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had just received from his ambassador. The dispatches from London that had been lost, coming into his mind, and all that I had said when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealousy and hatred, now appeared to him so well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Descartes and Rafis would arrive so soon, he ordered me to sift this matter to the bottom, and use my utmost endeavours to find out the truth.

His majesty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make discoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets beforementioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery of the garden of Pines,* and preparing to take leave, to return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance expressed all that grief which the consciousness of having such news to inform his majesty

* The gallery of Ulysses.

of must necessarily inspire; and I may venture to say, that for a man who had some cause to wish to humble a rival, or at least to rejoice in his humiliation, I sympathized truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majesty often looked at me, and pressed my hand several times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of l'Hote, "And where is this l'Hote, your clerk?" said his majesty, with some emotion, "have you not "caused him to be seized?" "I believe, sire," replied Villeroi, in great consternation, "that he is at my "house, but he is not yet arrested." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you believe he is in your house, "and yet you have not ordered him to be seized! *Par-* "*dieu!* this is great negligence indeed; how could you "trifle thus when you knew his treachery? this busi- "ness must be attended to immediately: go back with "all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

Villeroi departed in the utmost grief and confusion, and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris, where I received the next day a letter from his majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be said, I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it necessary to make public.*

* See the original of this apology in Villeroi's Memoirs of State, page 522, it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this minister, it being strictly conformable to what is said of it by de Thou, the Chron. Sept. Matthieu, and all the other historians of credit.

After having recounted in a manner advantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couriers, to the time that he went to the king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner:

That at his return to his house, he found the bishop of Chartres, and some other persons of distinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their conference being the settlement of some points relating to the ceremonies of the order of the garter.* When Descartes came to his apartment to acquaint him that l'Hote, with Desnots, were just arrived from Paris, his respect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his first entering the house, was saluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preserved presence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry, and would go and eat a morsel in the kitchen, only passed through it, telling the steward that he would go to a public house and refresh himself, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his master. Villeroi, after his company went away, asked where l'Hote was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body supposed he was, he thought he could not do better than send a servant to tell the steward, that he should amuse l'Hote with some discourse, and not lose sight of him: he himself, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to desire that

* As the king of France was a knight of the garter, the ceremonies above alluded to, it is probable was the observance, as in England, of the great annual feast of the knights of that order, on St. George's day, about which time, it appears from the old Memoirs, the affair of l'Hote took place. EDIT.

he would send him du-Broc, lieutenant du prevôt, who he intended should arrest him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themselves at a window that looked into the court where the whole transaction was to take place. But these precautions were too late, l'Hote had already escaped.

Those who judge favourably enough of Villeroi to take the whole recital upon his word, will at least probably exclaim here against the dilatory manner in which this secretary of state executed those orders he had just received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as absolute as it was pressing: he would be still more culpable, if a thousand circumstances of l'Hote's escape, made public by Descartes and Rafis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injustice to believe every thing that on this occasion was said against Villeroi;* his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the Protestants, especially, painted him in the blackest colours, not able to deny themselves the pleasure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other side, we must not hold him clear of all blame, as those who are devoted to him do, who insist, that his whole conduct in this affair was justifiable. All my friends did not scruple to say publicly, that, if such an accident had happened in my family, I should have been much more severely reflected upon. The foreign ambassadors residing in France,

* De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not absolutely escape suspicion, but at the same time he says, that Henry IV, far from suffering himself to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortune, book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewise asserts, that Henry IV was too well acquainted with his fidelity to conceive the least suspicion against him, vol. II. b. iii. p. 637.

and even the pope's nuncio, came to my house at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after such a discovery, their dispatches must still pass through Villeroi's hands, their masters would not venture to mention any thing of consequence in them.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to send some archers after him, who pursued him so closely, that when he, and a Spaniard who accompanied him, came to the side of the river Marne, at a small distance from the ferry-boat of Fay, which he could not hope to reach before they came up with him, he saw no other way to avoid their pursuit, than to throw himself into the river, thinking, perhaps, to swim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard chose rather to be taken; and he was brought back to Paris, with the body of l'Hote, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroi seemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to seize his clerk alive; indeed he had reason to regret it; it was the only means he had left to stop the mouth of slander. He was the first to propose to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcase* treated with

* The surgeons who examined his corpse, were unanimously of opinion, if we may give credit to l'Etoile, that he had not been drowned: and, as there was no more appearance of his having been stabbed or strangled, they concluded he had been smothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septennaire takes no notice of this examination by the surgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of l'Hote's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally destroys the validity of the account given by l'Etoile, who, upon other occasions, has given sufficient proofs of his dislike to M. de Villeroi, and yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldness on this account; "taking the trouble," says he, "of going even to his house, "to comfort him in his sorrow, not discovering the least signs of diffidence "of him by reason of what had past, but seeming rather to put more trust "in him than before. It was therefore said at court, that it was happy for "him he had so good a master, since in affairs of state of so much conse-

the utmost ignominy, and to punish the Spaniard in an exemplary manner. All this could not appease the king: he knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to hold Villeroi: and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to banish him from his presence. But Villeroi threw himself at his majesty's fact, with so many marks of profound sorrow, shed tears in such abundance, and made such solemn protestations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be persuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodness so natural to him, granted the pardon he so vehemently implored.

Matters were in this state when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majesty, which I was indispensably obliged to do, of the representations made me by the foreign ambassadors. It was resolved, that the cypher made use of by our ambassadors should be changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroi more exact (I repeat the king's own words), more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and less haughty than he had formerly been. His majesty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, because I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris, by Perroton, from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to show Villeroi. The contents were, that his majesty could not refuse a pardon to the tears and intreaties of this secretary; that I ought no longer to distrust him, since he did not; and that, in his present condition, charity re-

"quence, kings and princes usually expect masters should be answerble "for the acts of their servants." Anno 1603, p. 24.

quired, that I should write to him a letter, to give him comfort, and an assurance of my friendship; and this he intreated me to do.

I seconded the good intentions of his majesty without any reluctance, and, I may even say, with more sincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myself to write to Villeroi, that I considered him entirely blameless. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I said enough to afford him the means of persuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accused. I gave him the hint of the declaration he published some days afterwards, and represented to him, that he ought to endeavour to shut the mouths of the Protestants, to whose censure he had laid himself open, and that the only method he could use for that purpose, was to relax a little of that violence he had shown against them, by seeking to inspire the Catholics with more benevolent sentiments of them; and lastly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had so often proposed to him, to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his absolute justification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour, and if, as to what had passed, I produced the example of marshal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

Villeroi, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him; which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like l'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge,

that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the king, yet the error he had fallen into was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only said, that the great obligations l'Hote had received from him were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroi by his enemies, since he wrote to him, a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which l'Hote was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with a recompense that was made him; besides the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratuity of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to by the ambassador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himself, being paid in the last quarter of his pension. Descartes represented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expense; and that, notwithstanding all my letters, his master had not been able to get any thing from that quarter.

The memoir upon religion, that has been mentioned before, consisted of some articles, which, if received by the Catholics and Protestants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by destroying that detestable prejudice which makes them load each other

with the harsh accusations of heresy and treason, impiety and idolatry. This memoir I had drawn up with the consent and approbation of his majesty; and I showed it to him several times, in the presence of the bishop of Evreux, Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and father Cotton.

If the Protestants do not believe in all the Catholics profess, it cannot, at least, be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewise; and that what we believe contains all that is essential in the Christian religion, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation of our common faith. This then is sufficient; let us consider the rest as so many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are persuaded, that it is not only useless, but criminal, to search into the secrets of the Almighty; but, we not only search into his secrets, but set up ourselves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to speculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his secrets, as well as the dispensations of his providence: let us allow to the sovereign magistrate, what the public good requires, the power of punishing those who violate the laws of charity in any society: for it belongs not to any human judicature to punish errors only cognizable by God. Let us consider this in another view; if our unhappiness be such, that the error is on our side, can the Catholics imagine that they shall bring us into their notions by abuse and persecution? Compassion and tenderness

are the only means that do any service to religion, and the only means that religion dictates: the zeal which is so much boasted, is only rage or obstinacy, disguised under a reputable appellation. This was the groundwork of my memoir: nothing can be more plain or more true; but unhappily, the power which men allow truth to have over them is very small; and what is generally called reason in religion, if well examined, is, in most men, nothing more than their own passion.

If to reconcile the two religions be morally impossible, it may, with equal certainty, be said to be politically impossible, since it cannot be done without the concurrence of the pope, which cannot be expected, since it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII, who, of all the popes that have for a long time sat in the see of Rome, was most free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleness and compassion which the gospel prescribes to all its followers.

The holy father was at this time so old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it necessary to send the cardinals de Joyeuse, and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the interests of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majesty, by the advice of cardinal Joyeuse, gave de Sourdis nine thousand livres for his equipage and the expenses of his journey, with a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he staid at Rome upon his affairs.

One of the last actions of Clement the eighth was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this pope, finding himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew cardinal Aldobrandini a last proof of his affection,

which, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne, by the great number of dependents on his family which were introduced into the conclave, or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France; and the choice of the two men, whom the king was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a deep intrigue at court, between the bishop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary* on one side, and messieurs de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, and de Marquemont, on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of du Perron, and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend, and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, du Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroi, as if he had really solicited his advancement: such is the custom of courts.

The pressing affairs that had obliged his majesty to leave Chantilly, and at the beginning of a fine spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expense of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for transacting this business, his majesty, to shun the crowd of petitioners

* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria.—Jerom de Villars.—Denis de Marquemont, archbishop of Lyons: he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.

who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the young Lomenie to tell me that I need not come to the Louvre, because he would be himself the next day at the arsenal; and accordingly he came so early in the morning, that many of the officers concerned in the affairs that were to be settled, all of whom I had sent for, were not yet arrived. The number of those was far from being inconsiderable, governors of fortresses, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the several persons belonging to the board of ordnance, overseers of bridges and causeways, and others.

Henry had something of consequence to impart to me: I judged so by that deep melancholy which, notwithstanding his endeavours to disguise it, appeared in his countenance and language, and also because he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his secrets to me: and here the reader may expect to find one of those remarkable conversations that he has already met with in these Memoirs.

Our conversation did not turn immediately upon the cause of his majesty's uneasiness: the heart involved in its own vexation has need, in the first instant, of the help of other objects to disentangle itself, especially if with this vexation be mingled something of confusion. The dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, therefore, and the rest of that cabal, were the subject the king began with; these persons having lately through malice united themselves with the prince of Condé, the marchioness de Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues; and those from whom his majesty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable testimonies.

Having desired the king to allow me a whole day to consider what advice it was most proper to give him on occasion of this new intrigue, he changed the discourse of his excursion to Chantilly, his hunting, then his losses at play, the money he laid out in presents to his mistresses, and other superfluous expenses, which were to be included in the accounts of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which, altogether, made up so considerable a sum, that Henry, who secretly reproached himself for these extravagances, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confusion he expected my remonstrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might also place there a gratuity of six thousand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my astonishment and grief at the increase of such useless expenses. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by saying, that, after spending so great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himself now some indulgence in his pleasures. I answered the king with my accustomed sincerity and firmness, that what he said was indeed very reasonable and just, if, instead of those great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the king of England, he had resolved to pass the rest of his life in the enervating pleasures of luxury; but that if he still retained any thoughts of pursuing his former schemes, he would deceive himself greatly if he supposed them compatible with such expensive amusements, and therefore he must determine his choice upon the one or the other. I stopped

at these words; Henry having silently listened to me while I was speaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly absorbed in thought. But the present disposition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our first emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage; yet he contented himself with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the sums he had mentioned to account.

Still, however, I was not discouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own; I had always found him sensible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in so short a time: instead therefore of having recourse to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him that I saw plainly the freedom I had formerly used in my representations was now become displeasing to him, I again renewed the former subject, and talked to him of the measures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for those glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the success the persons he had employed there for that purpose had already found. I repeated, that it was useless to take all this trouble, if the money that should be destined for those great enterprises, was squandered away on unnecessary expenses. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of these designs, without having beforehand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the strictest economy to keep together; and that with this sum the war could not be supported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or bur-

dening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation will make evident.

The maintenance of an army of fifty thousand foot, which is the least that could be employed on this occasion, will cost nine hundred thousand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; six thousand horse, which is the number answerable to such a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thousand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thousand livres a year; a train of forty pieces of artillery cannot well be supplied at a less expense than a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month, or fifteen hundred thousand a year. These three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and, consequently, near forty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a supposition that the war will continue so long. The expense of making levies, of hiring provision-carriages, and other things absolutely necessary at the beginning of a war, cannot be estimated at less than a hundred and fifty thousand livres; the waste of that provision, with other unforeseen expenses in ammunition, must amount likewise to the same sum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may easily be imagined, will be consumed in extraordinary expenses, too tedious to enumerate here.

The king still answered, that, before every thing could be in readiness for the execution of these schemes, so many obstacles would arise as to render all his endeavours useless: but while he spoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguished, and that he approved of all I had said to him. This he immediately after confessed, and, at the same time,

declared, with a sincerity truly commendable in an absolute prince, that the obstacles he had raised, and the severe things he had said to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppressed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at first complained of when he mentioned the traitorous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen, and the marchioness de Verneuil. These words, unhappily but too sincere, changed the subject of our conversation.

Henry's passion for mademoiselle d'Entragues was one of those unhappy diseases of the mind, which, like a slow poison, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its most sensible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power, nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequalities of temper,* that a proud and ambitious woman is capable of showing. The marchioness de Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the king; and this power

* He reproaches her on this account, in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the manuscripts in the king's library, and are of his own hand writing. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive "from your letter, that neither your eyes, nor your understanding are ex- "tremely clear, since you have taken what I wrote to you in a quite dif- "ferent sense from what I intended. An end must be put to these pertnes- "ses, if you propose to keep the entire possession of my love; for neither as "a king nor a Gascon, can I submit to them: besides, those who love sin- "cerely as I do, expect to be flattered, not scolded," &c. "You have "promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more pru- "dence; but you must be sensible, the style of your other letter could not "but give me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. See the collection of the Letters of Henry the Great, lately published.

she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regretted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he resented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel: Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the queen his wife.

This princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband: and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment: the queen began immediately to require a sacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refusal, though softened with the grant of every other wish, affected her so sensibly, that she forgot all his compliances, and laboured herself to continue the cause of her own uneasiness, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a husband, of all that tenderness and regard which conciliates affection, and fixes inclination.

She was soon informed, that the king had given mademoiselle d'Entragues a promise of marriage, the original of which, as I have formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the king;

and she never ceased tormenting him till he had promised to get from his mistress this paper, which nevertheless, all the ecclesiastics whom she consulted, assured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length resolved to desire the marchioness to restore it; and he demanded it of her in a manner that showed he would not be refused. He had just left her when he came to the arsenal: the effort he had made upon himself to take this step, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offensive language with which his mistress had accompanied her refusal, had all together produced that deep affliction in which I saw him.

The marchioness de Verneuil, upon the first intimation that it was expected she would resign the promise of marriage, threw herself into the most violent transport of rage imaginable, and told the king, insolently, that he might seek it elsewhere. Henry, that he might finish at once all the harsh things he had to say to her, began to reproach her with her connexions with the count d'Auvergne her brother, and with the malcontents of the kingdom. She would not condescend to clear herself of this imputed crime, but assuming in her turn the language of reproach, she told him, that it was not possible to live any longer with him; that as he grew old he grew jealous and suspicious, and that she would with joy break off a correspondence for which she had been too ill rewarded to find any thing agreeable in it, and which rendered her, she said, the object of the public hatred. She carried her insolence so far, as to speak of the queen in terms so contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of striking her; and that he might not be forced

to commit such an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, swearing that he would make her restore the promise that had raised this storm.

After giving me this account of the behaviour of his mistress, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confession I should have much suspected it) that he should with difficulty bring himself to a resolution of keeping the oath he had made in the first sallies of his fury: and as it is usual with lovers, who never have so strong an inclination to praise the object of their passion, as after they have said all the injurious things possible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his mistress, when out of those capricious humours, and when those sudden gusts of passion had subsided. He praised, with a transport of delight, the charms of her conversation, her sprightly wit, her repartees so poignant, yet so full of delicacy and spirit; and here indeed he had some foundation for his praises. The queen's temper and manners were so different, that the contrast made him still more sensible of those charms in his mistress. "I find nothing of all this at home," said he to me: "I receive neither society, amusement, "nor content from my wife: her conversation is un-"pleasing, her temper harsh; she never accommodates "herself to my humour, nor shares in any of my cares; "when I enter her apartment, and offer to approach "her with tenderness, or begin to talk familiarly with "her, she receives me with so cold and forbidding an "air, that I quit her in disgust, and am obliged to seek "consolation elsewhere. When my cousin Guise is at

"the Louvre, I have recourse to her conversation to "banish my uneasiness; yet she often tells me plain "truths, but it with so good a grace that I cannot be "offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the disposition of this prince; and probably the queen had only herself to blame, that she had not been able to draw him out of the snares of her rival, or to disengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at least, he appeared to me to be absolutely sincere, and [redacted] have the best intentions imaginable, when he pressed me, at the conclusion of this conversation, to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the queen, to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herself more to his humour.

I was about to answer, for this subject seemed not yet half discussed, when we were interrupted by messieurs de Vic, de Trigny, de Pilles, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majesty that the persons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was so late it would be impossible to do all the business that morning. The king after recommending secrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the rest of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the arsenal. The office of surveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my solicitation, to Bigose,* who was then in his service. A commissioner was appointed to demolish the fort of Craon. Many other new dispositions were made, which I shall not mention here.

The king did not fail to take the first opportunity to renew the conversation that had been so unseasonably

* N. de Bigose, or Vissouse, he was secretary of the finances.

interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the queen so much at heart, that he wrote me note after note, enjoining me to undertake the task he had proposed to me. I was sensible I ran great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on these occasions with persons of this rank often exposes the mediator to the resentment of one of the parties, and sometimes to that of both; besides, to speak candidly, this employment was less suitable to me than to any other person, these little broils being extremely disagreeable to my temper. I therefore resolved to omit no persuasions which I thought capable to make Henry himself take the only reasonable measures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himself to regain his quiet, and fix it upon solid foundations; and that all that was necessary for this purpose, was to exert the master and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill humours to herself, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to those who, by their malicious informations, embittered the mind of this princess, to punish them severely for the slightest word they dared to utter against him. I represented to his majesty, that to secure his own peace, and the happiness of his life, required only that he should exert a very small part of that courage and strength of mind he had shown on occasions of a very different nature; that his reputation suffered from a weakness almost incomprehensible in so great a prince. I told him, that a sovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the sole privilege of his high office, might exact from his subjects and family, as well for his own person, as his state, that obedience

so necessary to preserve a just subordination, and secure respect: and that it was absolutely requisite and just, that he should chastise such persons who made it their business to disturb his domestic quiet. To these arguments I added the strongest intreaties; I conjured Henry with uplifted hands, and with tears in my eyes, to employ his authority on this occasion: the state I saw he was in filled me with the deepest concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared so very averse to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois,* which, being so different from that I pressed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he seemed to be pleased with having an opportunity to tell me, that I was perhaps the true cause of all that had since happened. But there was nothing solid in this objection, if well examined; and when I dissuaded his majesty from having recourse to measures which might have produced dangerous consequences (this secret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking such gentle and easy methods as would be justifiable in the father of a family to secure the tranquillity of his house. And Henry was reduced to the necessity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his disposition, I would be convinced it was absolutely out of his power to act with rigour towards persons with whom he was accustomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I had nothing left but to tell him, that then he must banish his mistress, and give his wife all the satisfaction she could require. But he anticipated me, by saying, that he was ready, if it must be so, to remove all cause

* See vol. ii. p. 475.

of complaint from the queen, provided he could be assured, that after making her so great a sacrifice, he should find her such as he wished: but that he foresaw he should be plagued all the remainder of his life, because this princess was weak and obstinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner she did, she followed the dictates of reason, when, in effect, she was only governed by her passions. Henry, to convince me of the justness of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had said before, upon the delight she took in contradicting and teazing him; he only added, that she had discovered the most violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before she came into France, which it was not probable she would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little sensibility she had shown to his tenderness and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which he anticipated all the occasions she might have for money, although he was not ignorant that she never received any but to squander it upon Leonora and her husband, and some others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious stories, and giving her bad advice: he took me to witness, that no queen of France had ever received so many and such considerable grants; and it is certain that I had been the first to favour and solicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace, (which is often purchased by these means,) and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expressed against Conchini and his wife, whom he considered as the creatures of Spain, and spies of the duke of Florence, no one, doubtless, would have chosen to be in the place of these two Italians; but this rage had no other conse-

quences than making him condemn himself for not following the advice I was free enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to pass the Alps with her.

This long conversation concluded with the same request as the preceding one had done, that I should attempt, by the gentlest methods I could think of, to persuade the queen to more submission to her husband's will, without giving her cause to suspect that I acted by his orders. Henry used every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me, to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.

BOOK XVIII.

1604.

I. Continuation of the preceding article, upon the disquiets and domestic quarrels of Henry IV.. Rosny endeavours to put an end to them; the risk he ran upon this occasion from the queen and the marchioness de Verneuil; the malignity of the latter. Wise and disinterested conduct of queen Margaret.—II. Faction of the Protestants and seditious in the kingdom. Henry's journey to the provinces designed and prevented. Rosny visits his government: how received at Rochelle, Poitiers, &c. Hatred of the Protestants against him: other particulars and advantages of this journey: his reception from Henry at his return.—III. Justification of the duke d'Epernon, falsely accused. New intrigues of the count d'Auvergne: means used by Henry to have him arrested: letters which he received and wrote to him: an account of his being seized: his trial. The marchioness de Verneuil is likewise arrested: Rosny is employed to interrogate her: he can, neither by advice nor entreaties persuade Henry to banish her from France. Weakness of this prince for his mistress.

I. AT the very time that the king gave me the beforementioned commission to the queen, chance offered me a favourable opportunity to execute it. The usual method of making grants to this princess, was either to create edicts in her favour, as those I have just mentioned, or to grant to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interest and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorise the persons concerned.

The queen was offered four and twenty thousand livres to procure the grant of an edict concerning the

officers of the excise in Languedoc. She sent d'Argouges* to show me the edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told d'Argouges, that his majesty might indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it, as the king appeared to me so discontented with some late proceedings of her majesty, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless she first endeavoured to remove his displeasure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and services on this occasion, if she thought I could be of any use to her. The queen, tempted by a sum so considerable, accepted my offer, and promised every thing, believing that by writing a submissive letter to the king, as she had done before, she should certainly succeed: accordingly she wrote a letter, and sent for me, to show it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

Never had any step she had taken cost her so much. She had so great an aversion for the marchioness de Verneuil, that she would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumstance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her gestures, her emotions, her very silence itself, expressed, in the most lively manner, what she would not say. As it was absolutely necessary to accustom her to hear her rival spoken of, I put her upon this subject without reserve; and then she consoled herself with giving the marchioness the most severe epithets her imagination could furnish her with; she said she never could resolve to look favourably

* Florent d'Argouges, treasurer of the queen's household: his son was first president of the parliament of Britanny, and at the time of his death, a counsellor of state, and of the privy council.

upon a woman who had dared to bring herself in comparison with her, and had inculcated the same insolence and want of respect for her in her children, who embroiled the state by countenancing the malecontents, while the king, blinded by his passion, took no care to restrain her.

I began by sympathising with her in her griefs; but showing her how much the cause of them was increased by her behaviour to the king, I made her so fully sensible of her fault, that she wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and sent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impression of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her an answer so tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the same strain: but unfortunately, just before this letter was delivered to her, her emissaries had informed her, that the king was gone as usual to the marchioness de Verneuil, and insinuated that he was diverting himself with his mistress at her credulity. She now forgot all that she had promised; said the king had deceived her; and instead of writing, told the messenger who brought her his majesty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that she should not write, since she expected to see the king the next day, as he had promised her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he should be, at this behaviour, and could not be silent: those who heard what he said in the first emotions of his anger, were not persons who would keep a secret, as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was said on both sides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worse state than before.

I was now engaged in a new affair, that of settling the debate; but at most I could expect only an interval of peace, which would continue no longer than others had done, while his majesty could not prevail upon himself to take the only effectual methods that remained. These proposals I again made him; when he sent la Varenne for me one day, to find, if possible, some remedy for his continual disquietudes, which became every day more insupportable. I found him in the Orangery of the Tuilleries, which a shower of rain had obliged him to enter; and as he was repeatedly pressing me to tell what he should do, and, upon my refusal, absolutely commanded me to give him my advice, "then oblige "four or five persons," said I to him, "to pass the sea, "and as many others the Alps." The king answered, that half of my counsel he could follow without any difficulty, since nothing hindered him from exercising some severity upon those seditious persons who were conspiring against him in his court, but that it was not the same with the Italians; because that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that vindictive people, but likewise by removing her favourites, he should give such offence to the queen, as would render her forever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the proposal I had made him, fell upon a very singular expedient, which was, to get this princess herself to consent to what I had advised. He stopped here as if the thing had really been possible, and insisted upon my using all my endeavours to work this miracle, promising me, that if I succeeded, he would, from that moment, renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commission, he left me, as he said, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone

in the garden, the rain having ceased during our conversation.

I did not begin with the queen, by asking immediately a sacrifice which I saw she was not disposed to make; I believed that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majesties; and this I laboured with so much assiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before; they agreed to forget all the past, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm lasted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amusements were thought of every day; but some new stratagems of the marchioness de Verneuil having produced their ordinary effect, these good resolutions vanished again, and it became necessary, as a last resource, to attempt the expedient proposed by the king.

It may easily be imagined in what manner the queen received a proposal to send away, in some sort disgracefully, those persons of her household whom she loved the most. I expected she would refuse me, and I had no hopes but from my obstinacy in returning often to the charge: but this princess continued inflexible; and, to say the truth, Henry, on his side, so ill performed the promise he had given me, to reward this sacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that she drew from thence her best arguments for not yielding to mine.

What I had foreseen really happened; the queen, instigated by those whom I directly attacked, began to seek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power

to separate Henry from his mistress. But I did not fail to observe to her, that she performed her promise no better; and by that appearance of coldness and dislike, which, after so many relapses, the king looked upon as insurmountable, she was herself the cause of that evil she imputed to me. I proposed Madam de Guise to her as an example she should follow, if she ever hoped to fix the king's affection solely upon herself. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the respect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was less unreasonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom she was absolutely governed. To this complaint I answered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I saw written by the hand of any of her secretaries, because they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjust solicitors who abused her name, or written with a view to draw her resentment upon me if I refused to comply with them; but as for those written with her own hand, I defied any one to accuse me with having neglected to answer them with the utmost deference and respect.

To say the truth, it was absolutely necessary that I should continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king, that I might not be carried by her unreasonable importunities to any failure of respect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands; the expenses of her household alone cost the king every year three hundred and forty-five thousand livres; all the gratuities, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour, were not sufficient to supply her other expenses; she one day, in a fit of ill humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather those

that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a necessity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was passed in every parish for her advantage; some receivers of Rouerque and Quercy being behind hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uses; she took upon herself to pay the nuptial expenses of Santi, her Italian gardener, and asked me for six hundred livres for that purpose: this was indeed but a trifling sum, but by such trifles as these one may judge of this princess's disposition with regard to economy. What could I do in this perplexing situation, since the inconvenience was equal whether I granted all, or refused all, but refuse whatever was really an encroachment upon justice, and a detriment to the public good, and in such demands as must indispensably be granted, and especially edicts, to prevent any oppression in levying the money? As to their majesties' personal quarrels, it must be confessed, that in the king's conduct there were unaccountable weaknesses, and in the queen's inexcusable irregularities.

From the little success I had met with ever since I had first interposed in these domestic debates, I was at length fully convinced, that in such affairs those only who were interested should undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly slipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewise made use of on this occasion. He sometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment required complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither flatter the sentiments of others, nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear: and

here the resentment of both a wife and a mistress was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first position has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

At the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the marchioness de Verneuil was daily increasing, I was desired by the king to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that for this once I began to hope the affair would only end in an open rupture, which was what I most ardently wished for. She not only refused to give his majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that she even went so far as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable, to prevail upon the king to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired, that as soon as I went home I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to excite in me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the king, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince; a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he never would have been able to pardon; for in love

affairs he carried his sensibility and delicacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to send this letter (which was very long) to the marchioness before it was given to the king, and at the same time desired she would read and examine it with attention, that she might be convinced I had said nothing more in it than she had dictated to me; and intreated her to let me know, whether I had not scrupulously observed the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal message, but to oblige this lady to write what she thought necessary to be altered in the letter, and all that she would have me add to it.

She had already relaxed much from the severity of her first resolution; my messenger perceived it, by her cavilling at the terms, and appearing dissatisfied, though she did not give the least hint that the letter should be suppressed. My servant finding that she returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any positive answer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he intreated that she would write down what she had just said to him, that he might not incur any blame from his master for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words. She understood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; she therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that she approved of the whole of the letter, except one expression, which was sufficient, she said, to put the king into a violent passion. I had told the king in this letter, that the marchioness intreated him still to allow her the honour of seeing him sometimes, but to have no *private correspondence* with her; the last

words she softened by adding, "*that might be prejudicial "to him,*" which made no great difference.

I carefully deposited the marchioness's letter, and sent mine to the king, not without having some hopes, that pride, and affronted love, if not reason, would prevail upon him to concur in the resolution his mistress had taken, and that he would at length cease to be the slave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over with all the indignation and rage which might naturally be expected. "How!" said he, "does she "desire our correspondence may be broke off? I desire "it more ardently than she does; she shall be taken in "her own snares." The king uttered these words in a low voice, but my messenger heard them. He asked for paper and pens, and wrote a note to me that instant, in which he promised, that on the Monday following the marchioness de Verneuil should receive a letter from his hand, which should prove that he still knew how to command his passions.

This note of the king's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; on the contrary, on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his mistress, flattering himself that he should at least overwhelm her with confusion, and force from her a thousand painful regrets. Far from it; it was himself that played this part; he disavowed all that his agents had done, he condemned himself; in a word, he threw himself upon the mercy of her who had just treated him with the utmost contempt. Then it was that I thought myself happy to be possessed of a letter from the marchioness that could restrain his resentment against me. She however imagined, that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her representations, as an incendiary

and slanderer. I would not take upon me to answer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; but the letter I showed him when he came to the arsenal undeceived him, though it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy mistress; he told me at parting that he would chide her severely. I did not believe him; and indeed how could I, after what had just happened?

After the reconciliation between the king and the queen, which was made, as has been seen, at the expense of the marchioness de Verneuil, this woman, who, for the first time, thought herself really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accomplished her purpose. It is wonderful to think how many springs she put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealousy; even religion was profaned to serve her purpose; she would be a nun, and devote herself to perpetual confinement; she openly joined the party of the malecontents; she sought out all the young women to whom Henry had discovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge such promises of marriage as that he had given to her, of which she had made so insolent a use, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found ecclesiastics who countenanced her in these extravagancies, and who were hardy enough to publish the bands of marriage which she boasted she would oblige the king to contract with her. At the same time a great number of letters and memoirs were distributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretensions of this woman were supported.* Henry would have given any

* See the cardinal d'Ossat's complaints on this occasion against the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular against a Capuchin called

reward for a discovery of the authors of these writings: his whole court was employed to find them out, and myself among the rest.

I should never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumstances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon some who had a share in it: but I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince, who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness of his mind. This storm, which was occasioned by a mere love quarrel, ended, as usual with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever.* It was fixed, that by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince should, throughout his whole life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expense of his quiet and his health. These two motives made me still interest myself in these unpleasing affairs; for I could not, without the most sensible affliction, see the health of a prince so dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illness this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave so much employment to the

father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the marchioness de Verneuil's party. Letters of the 22d February and 15th October, 1601, and of the 1st of April, 1602. The liberty of publishing satirical libels was never so great as at this time.

* "The duke of Sully has often told me (says the author of l'Historie de "la Mere et du Fils) that he never knew them a week together without "quarrelling. He also told me, that once the queen was so far transported "with passion, that being near the king, and hastily lifting up her arm, he "was so apprehensive she was going to do something further, that he caught "hold of her with less respect than he wished to have done, and so roughly "that she afterwards complained he had struck her," &c. Vol. I. p. 8.

physicians, la-Riviere and du-Laurens; he was obliged to use bleeding often, and observe a strict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a heavy and inflamed blood, which brought frequent indispositions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into such an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at some late proceeding of the marchioness de Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was sitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa,* with the greater conveniency.

Nothing would have been wanting to complete the unhappiness of these domestic quarrels, if queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only misfortune that Henry escaped; and certainly this princess merited the highest encomiums for the sweetness of her temper, her resignation, and, above all, for her disinterestedness, in a situation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all she could desire, her demands were few, and for things not only necessary in themselves, but such as she had an incontestable right to, the fulfilling such engagements as had been made with her, and some exemptions for her borough of Usson; her chief solicitation was on account of succeeding to the possessions of her mother, queen Catherine: that princess, by her contract of marriage with Henry II, was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her sons, to her daughters, in preference to the natural children of her husband. Although this disposition was absolutely equitable, yet Charles

* The Spa-waters are in the bishopric of Liege.

of Valois, count d'Auvergne, pretended a claim,* to the prejudice of Margaret; she had not the principal writings that proved the legality of her's; but the king interposed his authority to make it be given her, and that she should obtain the justice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the same rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be discovered that she had once been the wife of the king. I should not confine my praises to what I have already said of her, were I not apprehensive of being accused of partiality; since the interest which this princess had always the goodness to take in my fortune is well known, her letters to me were such as one would write to a sincere and unalterable friend: "You are always (thus she expresses herself in one "of them) my resource, and, after God, my surest "reliance."

II. But let us now pass to other cares and uneasinesses that the king suffered this year from a traitorous cabal, in which the marchioness de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating incessantly the names of the dukes of Bouillon, la Tremouille, and de Rohan, the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, du Plessis, and the rest, it may be easily imagined that these

*By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III had made to him of these estates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged these estates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 38, gives an enumeration of these estates, consisting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais, Leverous, Douzenac, Choussac, Gorreges, Hondocourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand livres; besides that princess's portion of more than two hundred thousand crowns or ducats, "which," says he, "would now be worth more than "four hundred thousand;" together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious stones, jewels, &c.

are the persons I mean. The same spirit of sedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had set on foot with the Protestant party in the synod of Gap, still directed their enterprises and suggested to them innumerable stratagems, either to raise an insurrection among the king's subjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is scarcely credible how many slanderous lies were propagated of his majesty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed against the government by the authority of these leaders.

The king, when he sent to me at Paris, by d'Escures, some advices he had just received at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I should with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it. Indeed I am obliged to confess, that the proceedings of the French Protestants were such, as left them no reason to complain of any one but themselves, if they one day met with a severe punishment for them. They boasted almost openly, that they would oblige his majesty, not only to receive the duke of Bouillon into his kingdom, but also to invest him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du Plessis, the soul that animated this body, suggested only such thoughts; la Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by persuading them, that they would very shortly behold a surprising revolution in France; the duke of Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himself to spread this report in foreign countries, and in England especially, by a trusty emissary named Durand, who used his utmost endeavours to draw off his Britannic majesty from

Henry's party. This man, who at London assumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, showed himself so faithful and officious a servant, that the king, as well as every one else, was persuaded that he had exceeded his commission; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the re-establishment of his master in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized; if this design was not Durand's alone, it could only be suggested by the duchess dowager of Rohan. It is also certain, that the duke of Rohan ordered Durand to present the king of England, in his name, with a horse of great price, which in the present conjuncture, it was not justifiable for him to do, without Henry's consent.

But it was more necessary to enter into a strict examination of the count d'Auvergne's conduct, than any of the others; few persons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with respect to the common cause, or his own particular one; he had made use of the promise of marriage, given by Henry to* the mar-

* The historians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the count d'Auvergne with the Spanish council; but Amelot de la Houssaye will help us out on this occasion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he assures us, that the count d'Auvergne, and the marchioness de Verneuil entrusted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's side, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaster-general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the disgrace of the count d'Auvergne, and sent to the Bastile, he kept the original of the treaty so well concealed in the skirt of his doublet, that no one discovered it; and finding himself treated as a state criminal, he, by degrees, eat up in the soups, and other victuals, which were brought to his table, both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain, annexed to it. The king of Spain thereby promised to assist the count d'Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne

chioness de Verneuil his sister, to serve his designs, and joined to it a claim of his own, yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found persons credulous enough to consider them both in a serious light: it is certain, that he had there acquired great credit and influence; we shall soon see to what it conducted him.

The methods his majesty made use of to render all these intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himself with his accustomed attention and assiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with such men only as were distinguished for their merit, their probity, and their zeal for his service. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made president of the court of aids in Montpelier, in reward for having usefully served his majesty in Languedoc. Henry likewise commanded me to assemble the chancellor, Villeroi, and Sillery, who with me composed a kind of council, to consider of this matter. By his orders, I still kept up a correspondence by letter with the principal Protestants, which I own was of little service to his majesty: his chief dependance, and with reason,

who was the son of Henry IV, by the marchioness de Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is styled dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues-Balsac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houssaye further assures us, in the note on the cardinal d'Ossat's letters above-mentioned, that two Capuchins, called father Hillary of Grenoble, and father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conspiracy.

M. de Sully seems to insinuate, as if something further had been intended in favour of the count d'Auvergne himself: perhaps he had some design of setting up some writing or disposition of his father Charles IX, by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See also, on this subject, the Memoirs of the Life of the president de Thou, and in particular his History, anno 1605. Vitt. Siri's Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 297.

was upon the journey he proposed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc, while I on my side was to visit Poitou, and the western part of France.

I highly approved of this design when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourselves together a long time in making preparations for these two journeys; the necessity for going to take possession of my government served me for a pretext for mine; the king wanted no excuse for his: on the contrary, it was fit he should not appear ignorant of the occasion that made his presence necessary in the southern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On some pretence or other, I was to visit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guyenne; and his majesty was likewise to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnois, and Dauphiné, in his way,* so that between us we were to go through almost all France. We settled the time of our departure, our stay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouse; and I looked upon his majesty's journey to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of going immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay, it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at farthest. Such persons as had business depending in the king's council pressed the conclusion of it with the

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV to M. de Rosny, on the subject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July, 1604, with an indorsement thereon, as most of his letters have, in the hand-writing of this minister. Henry IVth's letters.

utmost assiduity, as soon as his majesty's intention was made public; and the counsellors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not choose to leave the business they had begun, to be finished by the new council, appointed by his majesty during his absence.

This scheme, so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the king's part in it. As soon as his majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar; and it caused, as usual, much commotion at court. There was not one to whom this design did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expenses of so tedious a journey, and the gay, delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniences usual in such expeditions; so that, when his majesty proposed the affair in form to his counsellors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

They alleged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the count d'Auvergne and the marchioness de Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had risen lately between the republic of the Grisons, and the count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss: all those af-

fairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately; in a word, they found so many inconveniences likely to accrue from this journey, and knew so well how to aggravate them, that the king was prevailed upon to alter his resolution.

They even suggested reasons to his majesty, to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council, began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit, to another opportunity, my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made use of, to dissuade the king from his journey, had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted in my first opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the state.

One man, whom the news of his majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Lesdiguieres; and a report being then current, that the count of Soissons was shortly to be put in possession of those cautionary places given to Lesdiguieres, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his majesty had taken. His correspondence with the duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by du Bourg.

I set out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several per-

sons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention than to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor; but others, among whom I may, without scruple, put Richelieu* and Pont-courlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my designs, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn whatever should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the Protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the Catholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal, or raise suspicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this, my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of their designs; the correspondence his majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

It was but too true, that the king's enemies and mine, had taken measures before hand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the populace against

* Francis du Plessis de Richelieu, father of cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vigneród de Pont-courlai.

me: that which appeared most likely to produce this effect, was to spread a report, that the design which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors* of the salt pits to yield up their property, and to purchase them for the king. Those in whom I discovered the greatest malevolence towards me, were persons from whom it was least to be expected, my brethren the Protestants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet these affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refused to let me into the secret of their debates, yet it was always upon such plausible pretences, that I had room to feign myself entirely satisfied. They were apprehensive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, because he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commissioned d'Aubigné and Constant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him while he continued about me But this malignancy, with respect to me, extended no farther than to a small number of persons; or, if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the most distinguishing marks of respect in every place where I made any stay; and in those that I only passed through, they came to meet me, harangued me, and escorted me with ceremony on my way. The ecclesiastics seemed most eager to show me respect; and I never heard the least expression that suggested a doubt of my religion: the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude

* Perefixe makes no doubt but Henry IV really had formed this design, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from the gabelle or salt duty, which, he asserts, this prince was fully determined to abolish, as well as the taille, p. 369.

and unsociable, gave me, by their polite and respectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I was still more surprised at the conduct of the inhabitants of Rochelle: this imperious city, that usually makes it her boast to have only the king himself for governor, and under him her haughty and important mayor, who is generally elected out of three persons proposed by them to his majesty, might have laid great stress upon those mighty prerogatives with so much the more reason, in respect to me, as the city was not properly within the limits of my government; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor chosen by themselves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horse: such an escort gave me the less room to be apprehensive of those attempts his majesty warned me to be careful of: the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any distinction of persons or religions; they were all lodged within the walls, and most of them in the houses of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the king's health, and said, that, if his majesty had done them the honour to present himself before their gates, though followed with thirty thousand men, they would have opened them to him; and that, if their gates were not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but respect and submission, and heard nothing but praises of his majesty; they likewise assured me, with the most flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the same manner.

The dinner I have mentioned, was served upon seventeen tables, the least of which contained sixteen covers; and, the next day, they entertained me with a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been; on the following day, between Coreilles and Chef-de-Baye, there was a grand representation of a sea-fight, between twenty vessels fitted out with French flags, streamers, and other appropriate ensigns, and a like number equipped as Spaniards: the French were victorious, and the vanquished Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, exposed to public view, and afterwards presented to me as his lieutenant-general: I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whose eulogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their prisoners: excepting these, and the sieur de Lussan, I punished severely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majesty was satisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to ask him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned some circumstances which persuaded me the count d'Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

The king had allowed me so little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer visiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permission from his majesty to go to St. Jean d'Angely, and to Brouage, by representing to him the necessity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that district, who suspected that the king had an intention to deprive them of their salt-pits. I set out from Rochelle to go to these two places, and was received by messieurs

de Rohan and de Saint-Luc still better than I expected. I used my utmost endeavours to recall Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recal Durand from thence: he appeared greatly astonished at this discourse, complained of the calumnies his enemies spread abroad of him; disavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his sincerity, acknowledged circumstances unasked, as the horse presented by him to king James, but assured me he had obtained his majesty's permission for it, which he could easily bring to his remembrance.

From Saint-Jean I resumed the road to Paris through Thouars, where I was desirous of having a conference with the duke de la Tremouille. I did not expect so polite a reception from him as I really received, sensible that he must be greatly mortified to see me possess a government, and receive honours, to which he had aspired with such extreme ardency, as to solicit them publicly: our conversation often turned on the many causes of complaint the Protestant party had given the king; and even in the presence of Parabere, Saint Germain-de-Clan, Besses, la Valliere, Constant, d'Aubigné (these were hardly ever absent), Preaux, la Ferriere, and la Saussaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injustice that had been done them by the king, protesting their fidelity and attachment to his majesty; and the better to impose upon me, accompanied their assurances with so much civility to myself, and such gross flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

In the midst of all this art and disguise, I did not cease to penetrate into their designs, by turning the

discourse, in their presence, upon the state of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themselves then, in spite of their endeavours to the contrary; and it was no longer possible for me to doubt, that all this little court of persons attached to the dukes of Rohan and de la Tremouille was, in reality, such as it had been represented to his majesty; but what I discovered at this time, and the intelligence which the post I possessed in that province afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the sequel, the utmost certainty that these gentlemen had no power with the rest of the Protestant party; they were no longer, as formerly, those absolute leaders who, with a single word, drew all their suffrages; but, on the contrary, they were shunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the assemblies. This they had brought upon themselves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon such dangerous and ridiculous enterprises, as had at length undeceived the most credulous amongst them; and the highest idea that could be now given of them was, that they yet formed a party in the midst of the party itself, though a very weak one, and only supported themselves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but possessed the shadow.

I did not neglect to take all the advantage I could of such favourable dispositions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been spread among them concerning the salt-pits, the excise, and other monopolies, which had been made use of to excite them to sedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king; their notions of his tyranny and their slavery were wholly effaced. I made the Protestants comprehend how ground-

less their suspicions were, that Henry had ever designed to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the state, since it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions: I convinced them likewise, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with respect to Clement the Eighth, who was so far from endeavouring to extirpate the Protestants, that he had, on all occasions, strongly opposed making war against them.

My actions completed the work these assurances had begun; I distributed pensions among those of the party who had advised peace, and served the king faithfully; and, to convince them absolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their sovereign, I shewed them the paper that contained all the reformations he proposed to make in the state, the same that I have formerly mentioned, with which they were fully satisfied. By these means I so weakened the duke de la Tremouille's party, that he could never afterwards add to it six persons of any consequence. The duke of Bouillon was so greatly affected with the knowledge that he had lost all the remaining interests he had hitherto preserved in this district of France, that he determined to pass the rest of his days in that kind of exile which kept him, in spite of himself, quiet in the court of the elector Palatine. Saint Germain, who was not unacquainted with any of the duke's secrets, wrote an account of this design to la Saussaye, of whom he thought himself absolutely secure: but la Saussaye gave me Saint Germain's letter, which I shewed to his majesty.

Having thus performed all that the present conjuncture, and the shortness of the time, permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated commands (which every

one of his letters brought me) to return as soon as possible, and followed in a few days my last letter, which I wrote to his majesty from Thouars on the 10th of July. Before I departed I visited the duke de la Tremouille for the last time, he was indisposed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of death when I set out from thence; he died* without being prevailed upon to promise that he would come to court, and his death deprived the malecontents of one leader.

I arrived at Paris on the 22nd of July, where I found a note from his majesty, dated the 18th, in which he desired me to send into every part of Normandy, Britanny, and Poitou, whither I had a design to go myself, two persons on whose fidelity and understanding I could rely, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me, having left off drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind and obliging reception I experienced from this prince, that I had been fortunate enough to give him satisfaction as to the business that had occasioned my journey;† and I now related to him, during the course of three days, all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

III. IT has been reported, that the duke d'Epernon behaved at this time in such a manner in Guienne, as to give his majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I also distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what

* Claude de la Tremouille, duke of Thouars, died of the gout, being only thirty-four years of age. See his eulogium in de Thou, book xxxi, and Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 663.

† De Thou says, this journey of M. de Rosny freed Henry IV from great disquiet, book xxxi.

was said to the disadvantage of d'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his majesty of this duke, have no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was sufficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the subject of the dispute between du Plessis and the bishop of Evreux,* in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and can speak of from my own knowledge.

His majesty, after the time here meant, granted d'Epernon a thousand things unasked, and often pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the same compliment from him. If Henry heard any thing to the duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion, after the letters that d'Epernon sent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence, confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the king and the duke during the life, and even after the death of Henry III, and that this prince had discovered some resentment towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has

* See vol. II. p. 357.

not been shown to the proofs which Henry more than once has given of that true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the duke d' Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

For myself, I was so far from being an enemy to d'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto shown myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship or hatred, or accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow, which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolence upon this accident; and he thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewise his confidant in all that regarded the king.* Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwise, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreserved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the count d'Auvergne.

It now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious subject of all means of conspiring against the state: the unseasonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majesty at the time that mar-

* See the originals of these letters in the old Memoirs; they seem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the duke d'Epernon.

shal Biron suffered a just sentence, was the cause of his relapse, as the tenderness his majesty had shown for this whole family, on account of the marchioness de Verneuil, had first encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find such another opportunity as his majesty had suffered to escape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller discoveries concerning those intrigues might be expected from the seizure of Morgan,* his chief agent, who was just then arrested; but the king was contented with suffering d'Escures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to discover the plot, and by gentle methods persuade him to come and throw himself at his majesty's feet.

In effect d'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wisest and the only part he had to take; the seizure of Morgan had wholly disconcerted him, and the measures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his designs could be concealed, or that they were in sufficient forwardness to enable him to throw off the mask; he feared that by flying he should expose the count and countess d'Entragues, and his whole family, to a shameful treatment; he therefore yielded to d'Escures's arguments, and promised to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his greatest secrets, and even to show a letter from his sister, which,

* Thomas Morgan, an Englishman. See De Thou, ibid. [He seems to have been a notorious character, from the following passage in a letter from sir Thomas Edmonds to the earl of Shrewsbury, relating the news from France respecting the count d'Auvergne and the marchioness de Verneuil. "The matter whereof they are accused is, that they conspired "against the person of the king; and *old Thom. Morgan*, that is also a pri-"soner, is charged to have entertained practices for them with the Spa-"nish ambassadour," &c. &c. Lodge's Illust. vol. III. p. 255. EDIT.]

he said, was of the utmost consequence, provided that his majesty would grant him the pardon he had promised. The original of this letter from the marchioness de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit should be given to it, because the brother and sister sometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and at others in such high disgust that they could not bear each other's sight. That which appears most worthy of observation in this letter is, that in it she exhorts her brother to a secure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herself determined to do the like.

That the count d'Auvergne was not very sincere in the promise he made d'Escures appears by his sending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he set out himself for Paris. The bishop of Montpelier discovered this intrigue, and sent the king notice of it: but this prince was willing a second time to listen to the count's fine promises: he only ordered, that the parliament should finish Morgan's trial, that the crime, being made public, might give more weight to the pardon he was resolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the prosecution was, to get that famous promise* of marriage he had in vain solicited his mistress to return, restored to him by d'Entragues: which was done in the presence of the count of Soissons, the duke of Montpensier, the chancellor Sillery, la Guêle, Jeannin, Gevres, and Villeroi, that this restitution might not be afterwards eluded by any restriction or disavowal; and

* Henry IV, in order to get back this promise, was obliged to pay the marchioness de Vernuil twenty thousand crowns down, and to promise a marshal's staff to the count d'Entragues, who had never been in any military action! De Thou, book cxxxii.

an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his majesty on that subject; and the declaration of d'Entragues, confirming this, was joined to the paper.

This conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the count d'Auvergne less rash and enterprising; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almost before his majesty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was imposed upon by his appearances of sincerity: but at length the whole mystery was discovered by some letters written and received by d'Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, who carried them immediately to the king. His majesty was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the resolution that had been taken to arrest him could be executed, determined within himself never to return to it again after the danger he had so lately escaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the least information that any thing was resolved on against him.

The king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D'Escures was sent again to d'Auvergne: he went a third time, but to no purpose: the methods that had formerly succeeded were now ineffectual. D'Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earnestly pressed, but with such appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not possible to draw from his refusal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they should do. He made the fairest promises imaginable, and always ap-

peared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which was to secure his person; but this did not seem easy to effect.

I cast my eyes upon a man who appeared to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat; his personal hatred to the count d'Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time upon the spot, without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprise, and his zeal for the service of his majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the king when his majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation sent for Murat, to whom I first acted with all the reserve and precaution that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that, instead of adducing arguments to excuse himself from undertaking this service, he anticipated my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him; he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope that d'Escures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him his instructions I enjoined him to act only in concert with d'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part he was to have acted in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'Escures set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going), and Murat followed him a few days afterwards, pro-

vided with blank letters for the cities and officers *des presidiaux*,* which were only to be filled up upon the spot. In the mean time some letters from d'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expressed so much fear and shame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it best for d'Escures to avoid pressing him to take that step, lest he should increase his apprehensions. Murat had now orders to act singly; and d'Escures, on his side, to use his utmost endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all d'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if possible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this d'Escures executed with such dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from suspecting any of those measures the council was now pursuing.

A little affair between a brother of Murat and the count d'Auvergne gave this trusty agent a pretence for going to the count; which having settled between them, the count, of himself, entered into a conversation with him concerning the state of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of seeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himself had said. D'Auvergne founded violent suspicions upon the insinuations that were made to him, that the king expected he should show himself at court; and upon d'Escures endeavouring to persuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the king's desire, he therefore as-

* The *presidiaux* were a sort of inferior courts established in certain towns of France, from whence appeal might be made, except in particular cases, to the parliament: they were chiefly for the recovery of debts, though they took cognizance of all criminal matters except high treason. EDIT.

sured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expose himself to the fury of his enemies, he would submit himself to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of marshal Biron, which seemed to give him great apprehensions; and said, that formerly having had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not resolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new services, and till the pardon his majesty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to understand, that his reason for not being willing to trust the intentions of the court, arose from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with, if he appeared there, this notice having been sent to him from some of the courtiers themselves, persons of the first distinction, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deserved to be relied on.

Murat finding himself thus made a confidant of, answered with great seeming simplicity, that since the count had confessed his error to the king, he saw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his case and that of marshal Biron; and that nothing but a relapse into the same error could authorise his scruples, since Henry had never yet broke his word with any one; therefore his best counsellors would be his own conscience. D'Escures likewise laboured with equal solicitude to remove his apprehensions, and to inspire him with a distrust of those persons who sent him the information he had mentioned.

To all this the count only replied, that when his life was in question he would not run any hazard; that neither the king, the queen, nor the princes of the blood,

were his friends, and the master of the horse was his mortal enemy; that the silence of his friends on this occasion was one proof of his ruin being determined upon; that no one solicited for him to the king; that he now never received any letters from Villeroi, Sillery, or me, because we were not willing to reproach ourselves with having been the instruments of his fate; that the constable no longer corresponded with him, for fear of rendering himself suspected: but it was with the marchioness de Verneuil he appeared to be most discontented; he knew his sister, he said, to make her peace with the king at his expense, was capable of charging him with pretended crimes, if she could not with real ones; and concluded with new protestations, that nothing should draw him from his retreat. As he did not suspect that d'Escures and Murat were come with an intention to persuade him to go, he told them that he supposed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would lose his labour.

The retreat d'Auvergne was resolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor house, without any conveniences, but situated in the midst of a wood, where he passed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his mind, the wildness of his look and air, and the disorder of his whole person, would have been a sufficient testimony against him: nothing could be more miserable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his punishment, both the king and the state. He was afraid to stay in his house, yet durst not trust himself at any considerable distance from it; he was never seen

in the neighbouring towns; he had left off visiting his friends, nor durst even confide in his mistress, a madame de Chateau-gay: he no longer visited her at her house, but when he chose to see her, they met in an obscure village, or in the midst of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the same place. His servants, whom he posted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they saw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and sometimes he made use of dogs for his guard.

With these precautions he defied all his enemies, and insolently, as well as imprudently, boasted, that he should always be able to deceive, and escape from them: nevertheless, his resolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the same mind: and this man, so wise, so sagacious, penetrated so little into the intentions of those who came to destroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counsellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himself to their discretion. But prudence is a quality seldom found with a bad conscience: had d'Auvergne possessed ever so little of it, he would have known, that there was no safety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and this, probably, was the only scheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment when he appeared to d'Escures and Murat, determined not to expose himself to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a quite different strain. He once sent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues distant from his own house: though this summons gave them at first some uneasiness, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had sent for them only to tell them he was now resolved to go and present himself to the king. His

majesty, to whom they sent immediate notice of this resolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a false report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that d'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to set out for Paris. In this, it was not d'Escures and Murat who were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconstancy; for he was the first to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his last answer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents seemed to consent, purely through complaisance to him.

This whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received, at the same time, a letter from the count d'Auvergne himself. He had complained to the two agents, that he never had any answer to four letters, which, he said, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but altogether; and the writing so like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that d'Auvergne did not think of me at first, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that, afterwards, supposing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourse to it, with the well known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his design.

If the count had any intention to draw a promise from me, which, on this occasion, he might make use of as a security, he deceived himself greatly: I sent him an answer indeed, but as if I had nothing more

nor better to say to him, than what I had said before to marshal Biron when in a situation similar to his; I treated him like a state criminal, without augmenting his suspicions; in a word, the letter I wrote to Auvergne, was but a copy of that which I had written to marshal Biron; and he could not be ignorant that it was so, since I acknowledged it plainly. It was by this counterstroke, which is doubtless of new invention, that I gave d'Auvergne to understand he ought neither to attribute to the king such sentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a stress upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own troubled conscience. This was all that I wrote to him; and after his conviction, this proceeding appeared so candid, and so free from all artifice, that he praised it greatly.

D'Escures and Murat at length found the opportunity they had so long waited for. M. de Vendome's regiment of light-horse, being to be reviewed, they imparted a scheme that they had concerted to d'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all agreeable, it was effected in the following manner: d'Erre went to the count, and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be present at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, because he was not only mounted upon a horse, which, as he said, outstripped the wind, (and, indeed, he was accustomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermission), but he was resolved not to enter any narrow place, or to dismount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review. Nerestan advanced to salute him, fol-

lowed only by four footmen, in appearance; but in reality, four stout and resolute soldiers, whom they had disguised in liveries. At the instant that Nerestan was paying his compliments, two of these soldiers seized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the same time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horse, throwing themselves upon him so suddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his pistols, nor draw his sword, and still less to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and shut up in the Bastile.*

D'Entragues was arrested at the same time that the count d'Auvergne was; and the marchioness de Verneuil was, in some sort, associated with the two criminals, since the king consented that she should be confined in her house,† where she continued under the

* "The countess d'Auvergne, as meek and humble as the marchioness "was haughty and imperious, having thrown herself at the king's feet "with all the marks of the deepest sorrow, to beg his pardon for her hus- "band, his majesty with great courtesy, raised her and saluted her, say- "ing thus to her, 'I feel the utmost compassion for your misery and your "tears, but if I should grant your request, my wife (taking the queen by "the hand) must be declared a whore, my son a bastard, and my kingdom "fall a prey to others.' The same lady having obtained the king's permis- "sion to send one to see her husband, and to enquire of him what she "could do for his service, he sent her word, only to let him have some "good cheese and mustard, and not to trouble herself about any thing fur- "ther." Journal of the Reign of Henry IV.

"The count d'Auvergne," says Amelot in the place before quoted, "had so entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is, the pay- "master Chevillard that, in three examinations he underwent, he said, "with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely innocent, in this re- "spect, *Gentlemen, show me one single line of my writing to prove I ever "entered into any treaty with the king of Spain, or his ambassador, and I "will write the sentence of my death under it, and condemn myself to be "quartered alive.*"

† In the house of one Audicourt, in Saint Paul's street.

guard of the chevalier du Guet. It was this association that saved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At first they had not dared to hope for so much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after such frequent relapses, especially as they found that preparations were making for trying them with the utmost severity. The count d'Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correspondences, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him.

Messages at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the marchioness de Verneuil, but not on the same account; for I am persuaded the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The king could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; it was with difficulty that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the marchioness, that she should purchase this pardon, by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court were employed in these messages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithstanding his anger, that he should raise too strong an obstacle to his reconciliation with the object of his passion. The marchioness discovered and well knew how to profit of this weakness. I likewise served Henry for an interpreter upon this occasion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour; but he insisted upon my interposing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make

the conclusion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

The first order his majesty gave me, was to go to the marchioness de Verneuil, and hear what she had to say concerning the crimes she was accused of, to draw from her a confession of them, and make her sensible of her ingratitude. I cannot say that my commission went farther, unless one take in several bitter reproaches, and some advice which proved to be useless, concerning the manner in which she ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid such great obligations upon her. I did not see her the first time I went to her house: she ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any visits. I sent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I should attend her; but, before my messenger was returned, a servant, whom she had sent in the mean time, came to tell me, that she would see me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I found a woman whom disgrace could not humble, whose insolence detection could not abate,* and who, instead of endeavouring to excuse herself, or to implore a pardon, talked in the style of one who had suffered wrongs, not committed them, and pretended to demand conditions for herself; she complained, she raved against

* "She said, she gave herself no concern about dying, but that, on the "contrary, she wished for death; but, if the king should put her to death, "it would always be said he had killed his wife, for that she was his queen "before the other: upon the whole, she only desired three things of his "majesty; a pardon for her father; a rope for her brother, and justice for "herself." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. "On searching her cabi-"nets," adds the same author, "and making an inventory of all her pa-"pers, many love letters (the implements of her trade) were found amongst "them, some of which were from Sigogne, which occasioned his disgrace."

the king, made new demands, wrapped herself up in reserve, and affected the devotee. I was not a person on whom these arts were to be played off: I neither flattered her pride, nor soothed her resentment; I began with the greatest of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herself to the enemies of the state; I told her that she would have reason to think herself happy, if her punishment was confined to a permission to banish herself out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till she had submitted to be examined as a criminal, and asked the king's pardon for her disobedience.

I proceeded in the next place, to her insolent behaviour towards the queen. I made her sensible, that to offend, as she had done, a princess, who was her queen and mistress,* by a thousand injurious reflections, was to attack the king himself, and expose her own person to a severe punishment; I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herself to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and insolent behaviour; and especially her malignity in sowing discord between their majesties; and added, that she would be compelled to throw herself at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults she had committed against her.

Nor did I spare her upon her pretended devotion, to which she had recourse, not scrupling, at the same time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the state. I told her plainly, that this show of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I

* "She sometimes said, that if justice were done her, she ought to be "in the place of that clumsy tradeswoman." Perefixe.

proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her see that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her usual excuse, that they existed only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new subject of shame and confusion for her with regard to this prince, whom she so grossly abused. I showed her what she would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and assured her, that his majesty would never have opposed her retiring into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any signs of true devotion.

I gave her, in short, all sorts of good counsels, which indeed she did not desire, nor was disposed to follow. She ought, at least, to have appeared willing to do so; but she contented herself with answering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her what causes of complaint she had received, that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was, that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying her.

Continuing still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty. She answered, that although she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to her's on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account

of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest particular. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted, that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I had never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the marchioness de Verneuil; but I could not help laying some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue* could be unravelled; and all that now remained

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. i. p. 96: "The king asked, "whether he should give madame de Verneuil any thing to enable her to

to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquillity of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort then to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I went to his majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince? what persuasion did I not use? policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all; I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to rekindle his anger, as they had already often caused it; the harsh epithets he had given the countess d'Entragues and her

" marry a prince, who, she told him, was willing to have her, provided she " had a hundred thousand crowns more than she was then worth. M. de " Bellièvre said, Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to " give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match " by that means; to which M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy mat- " ter to talk of a hundred thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out " the means to raise them; the chancellor, without taking notice of what " he said, went on: ' Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two hun- " dred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient, three hundred " thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give " them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my ad- " vice.' The king repented afterwards that he did not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady, I believe it miscarried through Henry IVth's fault, rather than the duke of Sully's.

daughters: the intrigues so well known and so incontestible, that had given cause for them; the sum of money granted by his order, to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was no longer in the power of his mistress to bestow; the untimely birth of the infant by a storm, and other anecdotes of the same nature, capable of disgusting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a discourse so pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, so convincing: all my tenderness for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the shame I saw ready to overwhelm him; I intreated, I implored, I exerted every power of persuasion; I was not discouraged by an ineffectual attempt: again I returned to the charge; my zeal became persecution: and sometimes carried me beyond myself, as it did in a conversation we had in the garden belonging to the Conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we spoke so loud, as to be heard by Bastien and Brunault.

Nothing was ever more singular or incomprehensible; a prince, whose great qualities might serve as a model for other monarchs, reduces us to the necessity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confessing that it dishonours the other. I take, without hesitation, this last path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myself under an obligation to do it; and should think I had laboured but by halves for the instruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into shade. I therefore open to them the recesses of that heart, where so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so

capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices, when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason, and resolutions which his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters, when he secretly vowed never to break them.

It was but too true, that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals, whom he was too weak to despise, and too timid to punish. *Aut Cesar, aut nihil,* says he in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances! He was convinced that the marchioness de Verneuil had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

One of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shewn to her, expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less sur-

prise. It must be, therefore, that these lovers, amidst the wildest transports of their anger, could not hinder themselves from still depending a little upon the latent tenderness of each other: and that their tenderness still subsisted without their perceiving it themselves: or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debase himself, had a long time before furnished his mistress with arms against him, which he would not oblige her to make use of, by driving her to extremities: or lastly, and this is the least unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that some private transactions had passed between them, which Henry, through regret or shame, could not resolve to impart to me, nor to any one whatever.

I have thrown together all that relates to the present subject, although part of the facts, as has been seen, such as the seizing of the count d'Auvergne, and the process carried on against his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration so frequently.* I shall re-

* I here subjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV, and the conspiracy of the count d'Auvergne. This writer asserts, (Mem. Recond. vol. i. p. 297,) that one object of this conspiracy was to seize the king's person, by laying an ambuscade for him, and then putting him to death; and that d'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make use of the passion he had discovered the king to have newly conceived for his second daughter, who is represented as much handsomer than her sister, to draw him into the snare. He therefore sent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no question but the king would expose himself to any danger to come to see her at Malesherbes, which place is but three leagues distant from that palace: and truly, Henry immediately sent message after message to mademoiselle d'Entragues, by some of his courtiers disguised in the habit of peasants. Her answer to which was, that she was so closely watched, that there was not the least probability of her being able to see the king. At last he could not forbear going there in person, accompanied by marshal

sume it at the beginning of the following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an ac-

Bassompierre; and not daring to go into the house for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to content himself with speaking to her at the window of a lower room: he wrote to her every day, and sent her verses of gallantry, which he got the best poets of the court to compose for him. At last they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty, and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the marchioness de Vernueil; and, if we may believe Siri, was often exposed to the same dangers with her: one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hands of fifteen or sixteen of d'Entragues's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes, with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry the Fourth's mistress, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa: and there are still extant some original pieces of poetry, which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses:

Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
Que vous ne puissiez, effacer, &c.

What tongue can tell, what words express,
The beauties of thy charming face;
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foil to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the hand-writing of Henry IV, that it was made by Col-

count of some other matters very different from those I have been treating.

lin, a poet whose pen that prince was often pleased to make use of in works of this kind; these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

BOOK XIX.

1604.

I. Henry IV deposites his treasure in the Bastile: a council held on this occasion. Considerations and maxims of Rosny upon government: means he makes use of to recover money. *Verification of rents:* other operations and details of the finances. Regulations of the police and army. Establishment of a military hospital. The talents and abilities of Henry IV for government. Causes of the weakness of states.—II. Rupture between France and Spain, on account of commerce; peace restored by Rosny, by means of a treaty: particulars and substance of the treaty.—III. Farther account of the affairs of the United Provinces, of Spain, and of England; agreement and treaty between the two last powers; causes of the discontent of the United Provinces against England. The constable of Castile comes to Paris: his conversation with the king. Other conversations between Henry and Rosny concerning this ambassador. Erroneous maxim of Rosny on the Salique law. Introduction to the execution of Henry's great designs.—IV. Affairs of the Grisons, and of the fort of Fuentes: proceedings of the French, and other particulars on this affair. Dispute with the pope on the subject of the bridge of Avignon; terminated by Rosny in favour of the king. The acquisition of the earldom of Saint-Paul: prudent advice given by Rosny to Henry on this occasion. Religious orders established in France.

I. THE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he set apart for the execution of his designs, fixed upon the Bastile; where he ordered chests to be made, and all other necessary conveniences: for this article he was obliged to publish a regulation that might bring this new disposition of money into method, to prevent the confusion of dif-

ferent offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts; the regulation was this:

No money was to be carried to the Bastile but that which remained clear in the king's hands; all charges both ordinary and extraordinary, being first taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treasurer in office, in the presence of the superintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treasurer had likewise a third: when his year of office was terminated, he received a certificate, signed by me and Vienne, of the sums that had been put into the king's chests during his administration; this he put into the hands of his successor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to show as his discharge. The new treasurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inspecting the money contained in the treasury; upon this acquittance, the treasurer was authorised to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to pass without further examination.

His majesty was of opinion, that he ought early to publish his intentions and justify his conduct, both with respect to this accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were still to be made in the finances. This was done in an extraordinary council assembled for this purpose. The chancellor received from the king, and published, the list of those who were to compose the council, consisting of deputies of the sovereign courts of Paris, named by his majesty, the principal members of his council,

and the chief administrators of justice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great closet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all assembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole assembly to be seated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a speech of which the following is the substance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to such a state, that the annual income was scarce sufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was necessary, therefore, to improve the state of affairs, not only by inquiries and prosecutions, which had already so far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewise to form new funds, that if there should either happen a war of consequence, or a troublesome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs sink into their former confusion, to support the expenses which could not otherwise be raised for this purpose; that the best use was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means necessary to this, which, however, should be practised, without doing any mischief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the state on several pretences, the reimbursement of offices, and the resumption of crown lands, that had been given away.

His majesty was resolved to begin by examining the several grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: here he let fall an expression to prepare their minds for the just severity of this procedure, by saying, that in the first place he should endeavour to make a rigorous discrimination between those

who had really paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were now receiving back from the king's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the economy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes, which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time, should lay before him the result of their deliberation. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

Assemblies of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection; the proposal of the king, though in itself unquestionably just and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, and multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove it to be just, that the designs of a good and wise king

must not be at all times, and in every situation the same with those of the people. The considerations, which regulate popular opinions, are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or very rarely, reach farther than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction, without any care about the future.

This corruption arises from the desire of present happiness, a desire natural to man; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, though they have more knowledge, have the same passions with the vulgar. The case is otherwise with a wise and good king, or with a minister who represents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the subjects, but he always knows, that by catching too soon at happiness, it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the vexations merely ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquillity; all regard to short lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than those

who live in his own time; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shown to his own time, at the expense of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of some of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

The scheme, which Henry had formed for the interest of his kingdom, making it necessary that he should take all measures to increase his revenues, instead of making all those defalcations about which some who pretended great zeal for his service were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to discover some sources of large profit which would very little burthen the people; of these I put nine into a memorial which I presented to his majesty, as follows:

1. The contractors, who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of several employments which they represented as necessary, misapplied the money which they had received, and made those sums pass in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was represented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of several millions. Of these accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact revisal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able so completely to conceal themselves under the different names by which they carried on their roberies, but that I should be able to trace them.

2. The clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, accused Castille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been presented to me, was ac-

companied with an account of the articles of accusation so positively and clearly stated, that nothing remained but that the king should reclaim the immense sum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled.

3. All the managers of the finances, and the people of business, particularly the treasurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be associated with Castille, by the erection of a chamber of justice; which must produce great advantages, if private intrigues and secret artifices could be kept out, by which these inquiries are often defeated.

4. The abuses in the alienation of the king's lands were so gross, that many of those who had them in their hands held them by mere usurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price so scandalously low, that they were repaid by the income of the very first year at six *per cent.* which was the interest then current. Of this I made his majesty fully sensible, who would not suffer these alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to consent to the resumption of all those possessions, or to some measures for obliging the possessors to pay the true price.

5. In the other offices and employments there was the same corruption to be removed by the same means; the persons in possession were to be obliged to supply the deficiencies of their first payment in proportion to their salaries, or to give back their employments for the same sum for which they had purchased them.

6. The debts due to the Swiss Cantons were, by a bad regulation, so far from being lessened, that they had been always increasing. I had already made such an alteration in that part of our affairs, that by the seasonable payment of one million, I had obtained an

acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the same method with the rest, the public was soon cleared of that debt.

7. As it was easy for the king to recover the possession of the crown lands that were alienated, so it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expenses for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes of drawbacks, and improvements, were risen, by the connivance of the treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious height, that, according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the king. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at ten *per cent.*

8. The profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues which had been alienated; some of the contractors had made me an offer to purchase them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown, clear of all debts and incumbrances. The king, instead of accepting their pro-

posal, had nothing to do but to get that money himself which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. France had in her hands the infallible means of drawing to herself all the commerce of the ocean and Mediterranean, and to see them, without any great expense, in the middle of her provinces: all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuse;* and the first glance

* Before the duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Louis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas: the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the same time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear, they are yet far from being impossible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the same province, more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate exoense. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, will at the same time be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

It is necessary there should be some principal centre for the riches of a nation; but, nevertheless, other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic what the heart is in the human body, constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it, even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle, of only supplying the country people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

of this project presents us with more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone, and which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I entered into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The king, who certainly expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, raised at first a thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his majesty wanted, and what proposal would have suited his inclination: an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands: if I would have shown him a scheme which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers; besides sixty millions more, by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value. But I easily brought the king to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burthensome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigences; and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes

that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, yet if they were skillfully managed, and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

The king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shown, by good extracts, and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he showed the highest impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To succeed in this, I thought it necessary that a new council or office should be erected: to this an opposition was made by the chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was composed of Chateau-neuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the presidents de Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treasurer, and a register, who were Le-Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and present at it as often as my other business would give me leave; but whether I was there or not, every thing went forward according to a scheme which I had drawn as the rule* of their operations. The relation of all our proceedings would be tedious; it is sufficient to say, that I had made a clear and exact distinction between the grants made at different times, and from different funds; some had been bought for the payment

* A more particular detail is given of these regulations in the old Memoirs; those concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of consulting them.

of the third part of their price in ready money, some for half, others for the whole sum; there were some that had cost their possessors very little, some were obtained by mere fraud, and others honestly procured; these last were never touched otherwise than to settle them more securely, according to their original condition; as for the rest, according to the degree of fraud and injustice with which they had been procured, we either struck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchase to be paid; there were some, of which the possessors were obliged to pay back the arrears, which they had so unjustly got into their possession; and others, who for having embezzled the arrears, were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was so much easier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by suppressing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were an useless burthen upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining.

The inquiry which I had proposed against monopolizers and officers of the revenue, was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of justice; but as the corrupt management of solicitation and intercession was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common consequence; the chief criminals escaped, and those who were less considerable suffered all the severity of the law: some remedy was found for this abuse, at least in the time immediately following my inquiry; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he should be immediately punished. Exact information was given of those that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all these strokes of art the name that they deserved; and those unlawful gains which had so long impoverished France,

and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine; and honesty began to show her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before.

The treasurers of France having this year presented their accounts full of blanks for non-payment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much suspected of dishonesty, than to assign them these pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whose place was given to Montauban, and some other strokes of the same kind, taught the chief of these men of business to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree passed against one Le Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thousand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles du Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief persons interested in the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I complained to the king of an invasion made by the parliament of Toulouse on his authority, by forbidding any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treasurers of the province, because it threatened the ruin of the foreign customs, the farmers of which demanded a very considerable abatement: it likewise reduced both the galleys and the garrisons to difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom.

The four hundred thousand livres raised by augmenting the *taille*, into which half of the tax of a penny in the shilling had been changed, continued still to be paid;

as likewise the other half, laid upon merchandises: though the edict by which these taxes were established was settled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made representations to the king upon this account: they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily issued by the council, and which they represented as more dangerous to the public, than the *taille* itself. I allow, for my part, that their complaints were just, and had myself remonstrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this subject, one to the council, in which he showed them, that the present state of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the present year, and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I gave him what assistance was in my power, as master-general of the ordnance. The arsenal was at that time stored with an hundred pieces of cannon; there were in the galleries, small arms for fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and in the Temple and at the Bastile, were two millions of pounds of powder, and a hundred thousand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the arsenal, he seemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies who threatened him: but I showed him the formidable store, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then requested a list of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a summary account of his ready money, and what could be added to it, in the

years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my secretaries write these minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

The regulation and discipline of the soldiers was an article of government most necessary to be considered in order to its reformation. It is difficult to conceive, that, in a nation which, from its first establishment, has been engaged in war, and has indeed pursued no other trade than that of arms, no care should have been hitherto taken to form and methodise them. Whatever related to the soldiery of France, was offensive and disgusting: the foot soldiers were enlisted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel; their pay was unjustly withheld; they heard of nothing but a prison, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet: this treatment drove them into all methods of desertion, which was prevented only by the prevots, who kept them in their camp like men besieged: the officers themselves being ill paid, had some kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often say, and he spoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well served, till the troops were put into another state.

The first point, on which this new regulation must depend, was exactness of payments, which the king began by settling it so, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other use. This regulation was followed by another, equally just and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a provision made for the relief of soldiers, when, by wounds or sickness contracted in the service, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed

so, that, in this state of misery, they wanted nothing, either for their maintenance or their cure.*

The liberty with which I have expressed myself concerning the king's faults, gives me a right to praise him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of economy, and therefore practised them without any constraint: particular details of business were to him merely an amusement. Princes who engage personally in the administration of government, fall commonly into one of these two inconveniences: either they are incapable of submitting to moderate views, or they cannot raise them to any height. The mind of Henry adapted itself with the same ease to things small or great, of which his letters give sufficient evidence, and a way that was then used of applying to him immediately, sometimes for mere trifles, shew

* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July, 1605 (for possibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after,) his majesty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, disabled in his service, the royal house of Christian charity, built with the money arising from the surplus of the accounts of hospitals, alms-houses, and spitals for lepers, &c. and from the pensions of lay-monks, and the oblats:† the superintendance of it belonged to the high constable of France. The establishment has since been changed, or rather totally abolished, by what Lewis the Great substituted in its stead, in building and endowing the royal hospital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone sufficient to immortalize his memory. This house of Christian charity was before this only an hospital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III for maimed soldiers; it stood in the suburbs of St. Marcellus, in the street called rue de l'Oursine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV also caused the hospital of St. Lewis to be built; for this purpose, he granted to the Hôtel Dieu, ten sous on every minot‡ of salt, within the district of Paris, during fifteen years, and five sous for ever.

† Lay-monks, or oblats, were soldiers disabled in the king's service, who had the maintenance of a monk assigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their service.

‡ A minot of salt contains four French bushels, and is something less than an English bushel.

it still more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Gisors, who had formerly furnished the household with wine. His majesty sent me to pay him, and to recompense him for the delay; "My conscience," says he, "obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of these kind of stories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I presented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me.

As to those other ideas that had a higher object, either of interest, of glory, or public happiness, the king never lost sight of them, either in his vexations, or his pleasures: that he might know whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many inquiries; and concluded at last, that I should give him an enumeration of all those things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be destroyed or sullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of presenting him a sketch, written with such simplicity, and with such few useless ornaments of style, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or exposition, of those abuses which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may serve as a compendium of the principles, which they have seen, and must expect to see, diffused through these memoirs.

The causes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are exorbitant subsidies, monopolies, chiefly those relating to corn; neglect of merchandise, trade, agriculture, art, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and excessive authority of men in office: the cost, the delay, and the injustice of tribunals;

idleness, luxury, and all that is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confusion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjust and imprudent wars, the despotic power of sovereigns, their blind adherence to particular persons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or professions; the greediness of ministers and favourites, the degradations of persons of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad customs, and infraction of good laws; an obstinate adherence to customs, either mischievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and useless regulations.

If I were to choose among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furnished examples, I should propose Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the August, and Charles the Sage;* and I should wish that the eye may never fall so low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII, and our times; and if I were to establish a single principle of government, it should be this, *that good laws and good manners produce each other.* But such is our unhappiness, that we never perceive this valua-

* It would perhaps have been still better, to have also rejected the three first of these, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV, and the duke of Sully, we shall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on those of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down discover a mixture of both these principles. I have observed before, what correctives were necessary to modify the too austere temper of the duke of Sully: I shall here take the same liberty with the too warlike disposition of Henry IV. A military spirit is undoubtedly necessary to defend a state; it ought therefore to be nourished with the utmost care; but it should, notwithstanding, be kept in the same state we do a mastiff, for the defence of our house, that is chained up, and very seldom indulged with the liberty of pursuing its own course, lest it should turn upon its masters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almost the same effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the same end can be obtained by them.

ble connexion, till corruptions and abuses have been carried together to the highest points; so that among men, the principle of good arises always from the extremity of evil.

The regulations, for the augmentation and securing of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the first importance to the public, he laid out the greatest part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire* being ratified, I repaired myself to those parts, that there might be no mistake in the preparations that were to precede the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I spent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me as soon almost as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated several affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

* This is the canal of Briare, which runs from that little town to Montargis, about ten leagues distant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret: but this part of the design was left unexecuted, and the canal itself was neglected, after more than three hundred thousand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice of those who envied M. de Rosny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the ministry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has since been resumed, and at length finished. M. de Thou bestows great commendation on M. de Sully, for being the inventor of this design, b. cxxxii. A further proof of this may be drawn from the silver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the sluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The count of Buron, one of the parties interested in this canal, sent the copper ones to the present duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the silver ones on account of their value. One of these copper medals is charged with the duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inscription: '1607. Maxi-'milian de Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV, by the hands of Messire 'Peter Ozan, at this time mayor and governor of Montargis-le Franc.' The duke of Sully has also lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

Of these affairs, the most important and most perplexing, was an unforeseen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The king of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty *per cent.* upon all French goods imported into Spain or Flanders, as likewise upon all goods exported from these two states into France; a heavy imposition, which was at once an insult upon our nation, and intended to inflame the minds of his own subjects. The king returned it by expressly prohibiting all commerce with the subjects of Spain, and the arch-dutchies, and by a duty still greater upon all the Spanish goods landed at Calais: but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our provisions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithstanding the new monopoly, still found there were such great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the scarcity of them in Spain, that they exposed themselves, for those profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of sedition raised in the city of Marseilles, of which the president du Vair sent immediate notice to the court. The merchants of this city lost all patience, when they found themselves obliged to sit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their provisions, and deprived them of their usual profits. This permission, which was granted by his majesty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged.

The English were pleased at this new incident; and so far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they secretly strove to make it worse, because they carried on the same trade fraudulently, which the Italians were authorised to do. It was dis-

covered that eight or nine English vessels had taken in their loadings of grain at the Sables d'Olonne, and sailed from thence to St. Sebastian, to disembark them: this, doubtless, was the resource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwise their prohibition would have fallen heavy upon themselves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himself would happen: and it was the hope, that Spain would suffer more from it than we, joined to his solicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be said his enemies could dispose of its commerce, which made him still require a strict observation of the prohibition he had published. He commanded me to send a person of probity and understanding, to visit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of these two rivers, to see that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed; and he was empowered to punish all that should be found to have acted contrary to it; those being generally the places where such illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commission to la Fond, who executed it so well, that his majesty kept him afterwards about his own person.

Henry, at the same time, ordered his ambassador in England, to complain to king James of the practices of his subjects; and to give him to understand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himself the trade we carried on with that kingdom, he would take such measures that France should not suffer alone, but that England should lose more by it than her. This was tacitly to desire, that he would offer his mediation to compose the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable, that the king of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage

of such an accession to the trade of his kingdom, as to make peace with Spain; and he was now sensible, though too late, of the injury he had done himself, and that the arguments his council had made use of were all false: this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his majesty to attend to this affair with the utmost assiduity; and I likewise was ordered to confer about it with the constable, the chancellor, the commandeur de Chastes, and vice admiral de Vic.

We found many difficulties to struggle with on both sides. Trade must necessarily suffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great shame must reflect upon the crown. Henry could not resolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, seemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condescended to take any step that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his most Christian majesty was, that, although he suffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abused this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almost that I considered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I represented to his majesty, that the damage we must inevitably sustain, made it necessary that he should use no more severity with the one than the other.

The king of England did not refuse his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promises both parties should

make on this occasion: but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns; and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The pope likewise began to interest himself greatly in the dispute, being apprehensive that a more dangerous rupture might ensue between France and Spain. He wrote to cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it; and this cardinal, a short time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

The count of Beaumont, who still continued to be our ambassador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late dispute concerning our trade, in the presence of the counts de Villa-Mediana and d'Aremberg, the one ambassador from the king of Spain, the other from the archdukes; and had even drawn up a kind of agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the president Richardot, and Lewis Vroreylzen, which had been communicated to the constable of Castile, who was likewise at London; but his sudden departure, together with some other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding so far as to get the preliminary of this agreement signed. The constable of Castile passed through Paris, and had an interview there with cardinal Bufalo, who pressed him so earnestly, and upon so many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promise from him that it should be referred to the examination of some commissioners, whom he named for the king his master: the council of France appointed some on their side. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a conclusion, which, by being submitted to

so many arbitrators, was protracted to an insufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon don Baltasar Stuniga, the Spanish ambassador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a senator of Milan, who were interested in a cause for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him; this done, that the business might, on the side of the other party, be wholly consigned to one person, he desired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any adjunct: from that time, the affair was thought to be in great forwardness. I went to visit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majesty was busied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured: these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

The substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only between cardinal Bufalo and myself, was, that the edict of thirty *per cent.* and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct, by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms, many other articles were added, that tended to remove these grievances.

It was specified, that his most Christian majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export, or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the domi-

nion of that crown, by lending vessels, wagons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register: this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherwise should be liable to confiscation; but they were not, upon a bare suspicion of fraud, to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French vessels, should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low Countries, but those that should be specified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty *per cent.* which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magistrate of the place where they disembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the king of France should order all Spanish goods to be seized, which were bought by his subjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which should be given to the informer, the thirty *per cent.* deducted: that the French magistrate, who should be convicted of having given false certificates of discharge, should be prosecuted and punished; and that the two kings should mutually engage to leave the places of passage free. The article of the imposts which, ever since the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already settled in

the presence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was stipulated, that forty days after the date of this treaty, it should be published in the respective states on the same day: it was dated the 12th of October, and signed at first only by cardinal Bufalo and me.*

Although I was very sure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been first consulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehensive of the cavils of Sillery and the other commissioners, from whom the cognizance of this affair had been taken: the expedient I made use of, therefore, was to send Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil request that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, answered hastily, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the person who had been engaged in it alone, might also conclude it alone. This answer would not satisfy me; I sent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me necessary that the treaty should be signed by him and the other commissioners first named, and that I entreated he would come to my house and sign it; but that if he refused, I could not dispense with myself from sending the treaty to his majesty by Arnaud; letting him know at the same time, that the difficulty he made in signing it would delay the conclusion for two days: and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that if any accident should happen during this interval that might prevent this

* See the treaty itself in the Chronologie Septennaire. The king gives the marquis de Rosny no other titles in it but that of master-general and captain-general of the ordnance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not sign it, but only messieurs de Rosny and de Sillery; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the king of Spain; and the senator Rovidius. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

agreement on trade from taking effect, he should be answerable for it, went to cardinal Bufalo's house, and signed the treaty, as did also Villeroi.

The king, when he received a copy of these articles, confirmed by these three signatures, bestowed great praises on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a present of a cross of diamonds; he recommended him to the pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the distinction of eating at his table. His majesty would not publish the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he secretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently desired.

III. About this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which France could not avoid interesting herself greatly, after what had passed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is necessary to represent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which those of England have in this respect a necessary connexion.

The siege of Ostend continued still to be carried on with the same obstinacy by the Spaniards: in the mean time, the prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the isle of Cadsan, which he made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the archduke, who beheld this attempt with grief, had gone to assemble fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storm-

ing Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well intrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments: the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

The Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned, after this success of the prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which had lasted so long. De Vic informed his majesty by d'Auval, who was returned from England, that they had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success: however, it is certain, that Ostend was reduced to the last extremity; the Spaniards boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they should still have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when Persi le riche, captain of the regiment of Nerestan, who had come lately from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect, Sluys surrendered before Ostend, for the Flemish defended themselves with a courage that has few examples: they were seconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made up between a thousand and twelve hundred men, all fresh, which had been just sent them by the States, under the conduct of general

Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a necessity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, pressed as they were, to throw in ammunition and money.

This was a new and surprising spectacle for all Europe, that a little state, which forms but a scarcely perceptible point in the map, should dare to raise her head from the midst of her marshes, and brave, during so long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is wonderful to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war cost the States twenty thousand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known, they hardly any longer knew to whom they should have recourse, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The duke of Bouillon having promised them a sum of money, they sent captain Sorroques to receive it; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his masters to the expense of four or five thousand florins, which their compliments to the princess of Orange cost them.

Henry was their usual resource: sometimes they requested an hundred thousand crowns; at other times two hundred thousand weight of powder, for they consumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majesty ordered to reside in those provinces, to give him an account of all that passed, was of great use to them in supporting their solicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expressed

great fondness for Buzenval, and kept him with them, as it were by force, when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not soothe, and endeavour to engage in their interests? They would have made me a very considerable present, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their design, assured them I would not accept of it: and they contented themselves with offering me, by Aërsens, some curious pieces of shell-work, and some coach-horses of their country, for my wife. Henry showed a readiness to oblige them, which could not proceed from self-interested motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They must be ungrateful in the highest degree, if they ever abandon a crown to which they owe such great obligations.* Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requests in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not resolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raised in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out against him.

It is easy to judge what the present war must have cost Spain, which was in effect the assailant, by what I have just related of the United Provinces, who kept themselves merely upon the defensive, and did not stir from their own doors; and of the resentment that Spain preserved against us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the losses they sustained by a war that had almost drained their treasury, which, however, they concealed with the utmost care, often threatened never to forgive

* Grotius speaks of it almost in the same words, in his book, intituled, The Annals and History of the Troubles in the Netherlands.

the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of these threats, and he acted wisely; the council, by this impotent anger, showed its own weakness; and it was well known in France, that his Catholic majesty's revenues were exhausted.

Ostend* was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the consolation to see, that for five or six hundred thousand crowns, which this expedition had cost him every year since it first began, he had considerably hastened the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

It might reasonably be expected, that the treaty I had negociated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that she should lose Flanders entirely, if she did not find means to make some change in those dispositions in which I had left the king of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, she renewed her intrigues and solicitations to obtain at least a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if she could not bring his Britannic majesty over to her party. The Spaniards, at first, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers also were as high, to procure a grant of part of those demands. Their first proposals were rejected without being examined; but these were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they should prevail upon the English to abandon the Dutch, knowing they had nothing so much at heart; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, because Spain, fore-

* See an account of the surrender of Ostend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in de Thou, the Septen. Matthieu, Siri, Bentivoglio, and other historians, an. 1604.

seeing that there would be still a necessity of abating something in her demands, added a condition that destroyed its force, and required, that England should enter into a league offensive and defensive with her. The king of England's council having many strong reasons for rejecting this alliance, made no scruple to confess, that it was the interest of their crown to support Holland, instead of openly taking part with her enemies.

It was now absolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England: Beaumont was the only one who was of a contrary opinion, and he foretold, that notwithstanding all these apparent obstacles, they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, sometime afterwards, returned to the charge, still lessening their demands, according to their subtile maxims of policy, and commissioners were appointed on both sides; the disputes ran so high, that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a more peaceable negociation; the English commissioners reduced the Spanish ones not only to express no resentment against France, but they were the first to say, that she ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them; and even treated the States with respect and consideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majesty whatever was contrary, in the real design of this negociation, to the first, and to remove all his scruples.

To this battery they joined the assistance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the

three kings. In one of these papers, which was supposed to be written by an Englishman, because the power of the king of England was greatly exaggerated, who, says the author, can subsist independent of any other state, though none without him: as if the Spaniards were not capable of so high a flight of flattery to secure the success of their designs: in one of these papers, I say, it was maliciously insinuated, that this peace was desired with equal ardour by the three kings; but that their most Christian and Britannic majesties secretly wished, at the same time, that it would give them a claim to the possession of Flanders.

However, they could come to no agreement during the space of a year; and it was not till the 21st of June this year that the negociation was likely to succeed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was so far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as soon as the constable of Castile should arrive, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from his Catholic majesty, and furnished with full powers to conclude the peace: the same opinion prevailed in Paris; and it was even believed there, that not only England, but the United Provinces had secretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interposition and arbitration of his Britannic majesty, had put an end to the disputes on occasion of the cautionary towns, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying thirty *per cent.* and others. But why, if this was so, did we not see the siege raised, and other hostilities cease on both sides?

This report, however, was absolutely false, at least with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration.

The States perceived but too soon, and even while the conferences were subsisting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majesty. This prince became weary at length of struggling so long with his inclinations; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a solemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders to reconcile the church party and the puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace those very persons who had most need of it, the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The English already began to abuse every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alleged, as usual, that the English ought not to concern themselves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coasts, they replied, that they had permission to do it from the king of Spain, their sovereign. Nothing so irritated the Dutch as speeches of this nature; and if the inhabitants of Flushing had been suffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the English they had amongst them: but the fatal consequences of such a proceeding being represented to them, they restrained their rage.

The States had expected a quite different treatment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commissioners, his Britannic majesty insisted that they should be admitted, and their agent, the sieur le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged, that at first he had good reason to be satisfied with the English commissioners: upon the Spaniards introducing the subject of the Dutch cautionary towns, which they passionate-

ly desired should be put into their hands, the English told them, that they could do no otherwise than surrender these towns to the council of the United Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with some resentment, that the restitution of them ought to be made to those who had given them as hostages, the English counsellors only answered, that if the States refused to pay the money that was lent, they would make the same proposal to the Spaniards. They were likewise favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held them a long time in dispute; the Spaniards insisted, that Holland should open to them the trade of the Flemish coast, and particularly that of Antwerp, which she had, as it were, locked up, by building several forts upon the Scheld, and, among others, that of Issot: but the English soon cooled in these favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whose letters furnished me with great part of what I have related concerning these conferences, judged thus of the event, that the English knew well what would be the consequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced; but that great jealousy of us, and a little folly, had suggested all that had been done on this occasion.

Matters were in this state, when the king of England thought proper to inform his most Christian majesty, by his ambassador at the court of France, of his intention to conclude a treaty with Spain, the English ambassador presenting the memorial to the king at the same time. His Britannic majesty, in this memorial, persisted still in the strange opinion, that this treaty was not inconsistent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to persuade Beaumont to believe the same,

and promised Henry that he would defer the conclusion of it till the disputes, which then subsisted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade, were terminated. The commissioners, however, did not scruple to sign the treaty* between Spain and England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the constable of Castile to settle the affair of the trade between this nation and Spain. The constable was applied to when he passed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obstacles which he purposely raised, the concluding upon any thing with cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to interest himself in the affair. But what was still more surprising, these commissioners, without giving Beaumont any satisfaction on that head, had the assurance to demand the impost on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his majesty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of thirty *per cent.* was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the proposal, by making one of the same nature to them.

The constable of Castile passed through France again the latter end of September, on his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris just as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewise. He demanded permission, the next day to pay his respects to the king, to whom he presented himself with an air and countenance full of satisfaction; he made him a studied compliment, which for that reason was perhaps the less sincere; taking for his

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace: the kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the states and princes of Christendom, who are all named, except the United Provinces alone; it is set out at large in the Septen. an. 1604. Matthieu, 650, &c.

subject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to persuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two most powerful monarchies of Christendom, a strict union between them was the necessary and infallible means of accomplishing every enterprise they should undertake in concert; he laid great stress upon the alliance which had at all times subsisted between France and Castile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this association, which would give the same friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indissoluble; which was, he said, to be wholly free from all partiality: to divest themselves of all jealousy of authority, and pre-eminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretensions upon certain provinces and cities of Europe; he did not forget to insinuate to his majesty, that the Protestants were enemies which policy required should be humbled; and he concluded his speech with representing to the king, the advantages that a double marriage between the children of the two kings must necessarily produce; a marriage which seemed, (he said) by the circumstances o the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully assured the king, that he had no authority from his master for what he had said on this subject, but intreated him to acquaint him with his sentiments on it; because, though they were only overtures made by himself, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his majesty, he should with the greater confidence propose them afterwards to the king his master.

I was not present at this discourse, but the king came to the arsenal on purpose to give me an account of it. He stopped, after relating the Spaniard's proposals, telling me he desired to know what answer I should have made

to them, before he repeated that which he had given himself. I replied, with the same gayety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer satisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to consider of it, and prevent him from accusing me of precipitation, as he often did, when my opinion had not the good fortune to please him. His majesty consented to it, smiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his custom when he was in good humour.

I went the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myself of my promise, and found the king walking upon the terrace of the Capuchins; I told him that if he still remembered a sentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, "that they preferred works* to faith," he would not be long at a loss to know what answer I would have made to their ambassador; that after so many breaches of faith, so many perjuries, and violations of truth, with which Spain had dishonoured herself in the sight of all Europe, the constable of Castile's discourse would have seemed to me to be a new stratagem of the king of Spain, to break off the alliance between his majesty and the United Provinces, and the other Protestant powers, his friends, that he might find a still more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of so atrocious a nature, that no palliation of it ought even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, that, but for England, Holland, the French and foreign Protestants, his own incredible labours and incessant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the style of a

* In allusion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is censured by the Catholic church.

master; that the council of Madrid, accustomed to profane all that is most sacred in religion, abused the name of marriage, which had nothing sufficiently binding in it to restrain their lawless attempts. And here I made an observation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

It was not, I told him, a stroke of such wise policy as was generally believed, to marry the sons of France into families almost equal to their own, such as that of Spain;* for besides that there was no alliance, however close, but must yield to the hatred which ambition inspires against a rival, the advantage that was expected from these unions might be destroyed by the very cause which made it too considerable: but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at least, we might promise ourselves all the assistance they are in a condition to give: the honour of an alliance with the most illustrious house in the world, is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the support of its grandeur, and the increase of its glory. Spain, by this practice, has found the secret of considerably augmenting her power, by means less rapid, indeed, but also less hazardous, than war.†

I take this occasion to observe, that I am not of the common opinion with respect to the Salique law; that law so much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whose original is sufficiently demonstrated by the name it bears; as its antiquity is proved by the un-

* By this stroke of politics, France nevertheless gained the crown of Spain to the house of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

† "The house of Austria," said Guy-Patin, "has gained great inheri-"tances, *per lanceam carnis;* that is, by alliances and marriages."

certainty even of this origin.* It has been generally considered as the surest foundation of the kingdom and of

* As to the Salique law, the abbé du Bos speaks of it as follows, in his Critical History of the Establishment of the French Monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290, 291. "It probably obtained its name, from its being "already in force amongst the Salian Francs, when Clovis incorporated "into their tribe all the tribes which acknowledged him as king, in the "year 510, except the tribe of the Ripuarii. The most ancient digest we "at present have of this law, is what was made by the order of king Clovis, "and afterwards corrected by the orders of Childebert and Clotarius, his "children.—In the year 798, Charlemaine made a new digest of it, in "which he added many ordinances, &c." This writer farther asserts, ibid. 273, that the clause which enacts, "That the crown of France shall not "descend from the lance to the distaff," is really contained in the 62d article of the Salique laws.

But another opinion has been maintained, and seems to be supported by reasons of still greater force, in opposition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne) in his excellent memoir on this subject, inserted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, anno 1727, p. 490, et seq.; it is thereby proved, that there is no article in all the Salique code which excludes daughters from the succession to the crown; and that the 6th paragraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is said, "That males "alone can enjoy the Salique lands; and that females can have no share in "the inheritance," ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private persons; but that, besides this, there was a custom, existing from time immemorial, even amongst the Germans, that daughters could not succeed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c.—M. Foncemagne had before demonstrated, in another memoir (ibid. anno 1726. p. 464. et seq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary, but in the male line only, during the first race of our kings.

The sentiments of these two writers, though opposite in themselves, become united against the principle laid down in this part of these Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea, in every respect insupportable. Besides its direct tendency to destroy the pre-eminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in an almost perpetual series of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occasion in the choice of a successor to the crown; it would create a confusion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always observe a proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe but the whole is only an imaginary scheme of his secretaries, since none of the duke of Sully's maxims are discoverable in

the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this subject, that the situation of France, and the other advantages she has received from nature, are of themselves sufficient causes for that pre-eminence she has over all the other states of Europe; and that the Salique law, so far from contributing to these advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by those which a well directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heiress of France, should become our king, the first kings of this race would be considered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or English; but as there is not the least reason to fear that he would transfer the seat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would choose to reside in, this first foreign prince, or king, would be soon a naturalized Frenchman: and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salique law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the "distaff," has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itself; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion nor pretence for war.

Henry was much pleased with the answer I would have given to the constable of Castile; he assured me,

it. On the actual existence of the Salique law, consult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above named.

that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fair words, that he might not give the Spaniard any suspicion of his designs.*

These designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution: things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately: in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician: Spain, by seizing, as she had lately done, upon the fortresses of Porto-Hercole, Orbitello, Tala-

* John de Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV gave the constable, says: "The king sent the duke of Montbazon, with a most honourable train "of noblesse, to receive him at the gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the constable, the king came unawares, just as they were giving water to the constable to wash, saying, "I am come to sup "with you." The constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him; but the king raised him up and said, "It is not your business to do the honours of this house, but to receive "them, you are of the blood royal: and truly, the king is related to the "house of Velasco, which holds the office of constable by hereditary right, "and which is conferred by the kings of Spain on those they think proper "to elevate to the next degree below themselves."

This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the king two years before, when he was going to Flanders: "he continued on "his knees," says Matthieu, "somewhat longer than he expected, and "thereupon said, the king received him like a king, and caressed him as a "relation," vol. ii. b. v. p. 605. Siri, p. 317.

mone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the pope's eyes; and, indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the fore-runners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflection. That Clement the Eighth was of this opinion is sufficiently clear, from the steps that he was observed to take; he was just such a pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion; he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition, by sending the prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and instructed in the Roman Catholic religion.

The princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His majesty commanded me to treat the duke of Wirtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master: and though he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the elector palatine, on account of the duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring that he should recal his son from Sedan. With respect to the United Provinces, though they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms against them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the assistance they had received from the English having been very inconsiderable. After the loss of Ostend and Sluys, the States took a little repose; but it was weariness, and their exhausted condition, that made them submit to this respite, which was to continue but a short time. Thus the means of a diversion was secured, to be used whenever France should make attempts upon Spain.

IV. I have slightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Grisons,* which made noise enough this year, to give occasion for many historical memoirs that were composed on this subject. This difference I am now going to explain.

The Swiss Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Grisons, the thirteen corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, consisting of fifty-four parishes, of which the bishop appointed by them is lord; Saint-Gal, Geneva, Neufchatel, Baden, and other cities imperial and not imperial, which submitted to the Swiss, on condition that their privileges should be preserved: these cities are comprehended in nine bailiwicks.

The Grisons, of whom we speak at present, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valtoline, which is a valley, or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and those on the other side of it: for though its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad. where its breadth is greatest, from the Tyrol to the lake of Como. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increased by the torrents it receives in its passage, is but little less than the Marne, when it discharges itself into the lake of Como; it contains about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit trees, and pasturage: it is bounded on the east by the earldom of Tyrol, to which it is contiguous, but

* See Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. and other historians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of history very fully, Mem. recond. vol. i. p. 369, et seq.

the passages are both narrow and difficult; on the south by Bresse and Bergamo, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which separates it from those two cities, are so steep, and the ground so hard, that it is wholly inaccessible on that side, except by two passages, from Tiron into Bressan, and from Morben into Bergamasco; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Grisons, bounds it on the north. The disposition of this place is such, that there are no passages to enter Italy from those countries which lie to the north of it, but those that lead into this valley, which to the west terminates in a plain in the dutchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Como, between the Milanese and the Valtoline. This is the place we are about to speak of.

About six hundred paces from the lake of Como, Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes (from the name of him who was appointed to command it), upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which separates the Milanese from the Valtoline, and which is already but too difficult to pass from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the shore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over against the first, but not near so large; and to close up this passage completely, deep trenches were dug in the space between the bottom of these mountains and the lake. The fortifications of these two castles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to suit the form of the rock; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from

any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

It was not likely that the Grisons could view with indifference such an enterprise; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of these people in building this new work, and to show that they had no design upon any part that did not belong to them, caused some trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up; yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the states of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valtoline; and till then, to put an obstacle in this place to the passage of those beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiss and Grisons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Grisons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their masters.

Spain had already given the Grisons some proofs of this last design. The Protestant party had hitherto been most powerful in the three leagues, being established in the most considerable canton, and embraced by persons of the greatest riches and distinction among them; these were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain: but the differences of religion had as yet given rise to no misunderstanding among these people, because they were sensible their strength consisted in being firmly united: the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by sending their usual emissaries, the Jesuits and Capuchins, into those cantons. These fathers, by persuasions, promises, and bribes, easily succeeded in their design of setting the two parties at variance with each other: and gave

the Catholics as great a disgust to the form of government established by their countrymen, as aversion to the religion they professed.

Their hatred began first to show itself in the result of the debates in the assembly of Catholics, which was held at Baden, and which, for the first time, was directly contrary to that of the Protestants, who held a separate one at Arau at the same time. Some demanded, that those persons who had embezzled the money of the republic should be prosecuted, and arrets issued against them; others openly supported those persons: but the Catholic party becoming at length the strongest, they proceeded to such extremities with the Protestants, as to banish them entirely into some little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This was a thing which France hardly thought of; but she could not be indifferent to what passed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal interest in the fate of these people. The sieur Pascal had been long our ambassador to them; and the Grisons appeared so well satisfied with him, that they desired they might have just such another; and as, while these good intentions continued, they had also requested that the ambassador might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we sent de Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who resided at Venice in the same quality, to act always in concert with each other.

The best and shortest method we could have taken, was to support the leagues, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at least to furnish them with the means of building one on their side, which

would have rendered it useless. They had thought of this themselves; and it would not have been a new thing, if his majesty had given some money to these people: but indeed the Grisons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their interests; they were so far from expressing any gratitude to his majesty for the pensions he distributed amongst them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

The Venetians were alike discontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to de Vic; and it was highly probable, that the Swiss would serve them no more with their accustomed good will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met with at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Uri, and Underwalt, would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

In opposition to all this, the liberty of the Grisons appeared to every interested party, a matter which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hoodwinking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the clearing of the whole affair in question, took care to depute a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of count Fuentes: I,

by the means of Montmartin, sent letters from his majesty to de Vic, which, however, happened never to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the state of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the king; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambassadors, to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Cazal, in conjunction with him, could not prevent his party from miscarrying. The result of the diet was, that the leagues* would hear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except the fortress of Fuentes were previously razed, communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their ancient situation. The alliance with France received at the same diet a new confirmation; nevertheless, a great distance of time was required to pass from such resolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many subterfuges to recur to, by way of amusing the Grisons. Montmartin did not return thence, till he had maturely considered every point that had given rise to debate, taking a draught at the same time, by my order, both of the fortress and the district around it. I have formed this article upon his representation and memoirs.

A dispute of the same nature with the above, but in which his majesty was immediately concerned, arose

* When two or more cantons unite in one common cause, it is called a league.

this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay, for want of some repairs which had a long time been necessary. This delay was occasioned by the particular situation of affairs in France, which left no time for the discussion of a question between the king of France and the pope, without which these repairs could not be undertaken. The question was this; the pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewise the proprietorship of this bridge, of the toll and passage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and consequently of all the privileges annexed to these passes;* therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided, to which of the two, his majesty or the pope, it belonged to do it. The king being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

The law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhone to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the prince Dauphin, the duke of Savoy, the count of Provence, and the prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, whether the pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the ancient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nismes, and all

* Cardinal d'Ossat speaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June, 1603.

the charters of the province to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the king of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhone, possessing solely as sovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc has this claim most incontestably established, being an ancient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong, the possibility that the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hinder them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhone, by the right of *regale*, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts, which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers on the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty, which was after the last war concluded with the duke of Savoy, established it upon a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the pope's interest in Avignon arose from this:

A fund of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who make a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves *the brothers which serve*

the hospital at the bridge of Avignon, because that hospital joins to the bridge: they were likewise invested with the tolls which were to come to the king, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair.

These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time the revenues and tolls, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length the first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights; and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expense of the necessary repairs: they several times attempted to begin the work; but although his majesty's council did not act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his majesty's claim was ascertained.

I caused a definitive arret to be issued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong solely to the king, by the regal rights of the demesne, and the patrimony of the crown. In consequence of this arret, his majesty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and measures to be taken to recover the first funds, that had been misapplied and lost: and thus was this affair ended, in which the duke of Savoy was almost as much concerned as the pope.

His majesty also made an acquisition of the earldom of Saint Paul, one of the appanages of the count of

Soissons. This prince being plunged in debts, determined to sell this earldom to satisfy his creditors, who were very pressing for payment: he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a son, of which his wife was lately delivered, he ought not to live any longer in a dissipation of his fortunes: he received, with his usual affectation of gravity and stoicism, the compliments his majesty sent him upon the birth of his son; and afterwards sent Guillouaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of Saint Paul. Henry, in this acquisition, first considered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it passed into the hands of any foreign prince; he therefore heard the count's proposal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a considerable sum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

His majesty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the count of Soissons, and desired him to apply to Caumartin and I, to whom he intended to entrust the management of this purchase; and wrote to me also, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and used my utmost endeavours to serve the count of Soissons; but I found it necessary to give great attention to the form in which the purchase was to be made. The affair being protracted to some length, I set out on my journey to Poitou: Henry, in the mean time, listening only to his impatience, and being persuaded that there was no danger in bringing the affair to a speedy conclusion, referred it to messieurs de Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Maisses, who settled all matters with the count of Soissons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the king acquainted me with what was done; and seeing me

greatly astonished at his precipitation, inquired the cause, reproaching me at the same time with the little inclination I discovered for making so fine an acquisition to the crown, which had, from my ancestors, fallen into the possession of the count of Soissons: it was for this very reason that I knew more of the matter than any other person, and I excused myself in the following manner to his majesty.

From the time that this earldom had been possessed by the counts of the same name, it had been the subject of many debates, whether it should be held of the county of Boulogne, or the county of Artois; that is to say, of France or Spain. This dispute being of the number of those which it is not easy to decide, it was agreed to in the last treaties made by Francis I, and Henry II, with the kings of Spain, that till the question could be decided, the lords of Saint Paul should be at liberty to hold it of either of those counties which they should prefer. The succeeding counts of Saint Paul chose to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furnish a sufficient pretence for rekindling the war, as soon as the king of France, the possessor of this fief, should declare, that he would hold it for the future of the count of Boulogne, who was himself, for he could not, without a kind of dishonour, do otherwise. It would have been a melancholy thing, to see the war rekindled for a trifle of this nature; and shameful to avoid it, by submitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the first contract, and sign a second in the name of a third person, and his majesty was not to declare himself till he could do it without any injury to his dignity.

This affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long stay this year. He sent for the dauphin and the rest of the children from Saint Germain. It was his first design, that the dauphin should not pass through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon some representations which I made him. The children of France, with madam de Monglat, their governess, passed through Paris in their way to Saint Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

One of his majesty's natural sons, who was called Alexander, and had the title of monsieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations.* He gave orders, during his stay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expenses of this year were not lessened but increased, by the addition of those sums laid out on the buildings destined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in silence, but with deep regret. I only remember, that seeing at the same time a great number of religious orders† established in France by the pope's com-

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the presence of the legate and ambassadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV hastily descended from his throne, and pronounced them for him to the grand prior, promising that the prince should ratify them when he should be sixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry against the too great increase of religious orders, and the excessive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our ministers of the greatest abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of these reasons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; since, if it be true, that monks are useless to the state, it is equally incontestable, that religion would suffer by their suppression. "The man "must therefore be either wicked or blind," says cardinal de Richelieu, whose evidence on this subject is less liable to suspicion than M. de Sully's, "who does not see and acknowledge, that the religious orders are not only

mission, I quoted to his majesty the examples of Charlemagne for the first, and the Romans for the second.

Mahomet III dying of the plague, Achmet his son, who succeeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appease the murmurs of the people against a bad government, by banishing his grandmother, who was the cause of it. Sinan Basha, the counsellor of this princess, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, instead of obeying this order, he fled. Persia, being then at war with the porte, took advantage of these disorders to seize certain towns. The sieur de Salignac was then our ambassador at the porte.

"useful but even necessary; as, on the other hand, nothing but too indiscreet a zeal can prevent one from perceiving, that an excess of them is not only inconvenient; but may be even increased to such a degree as to become destructive. What is done for the service of the state is done for the service of God, who is the basis and foundation of it: to reform the religious houses already established, and to stop the too great increase of new foundations, are two things pleasing to God, who desires regularity and order in all things." Political Testament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

BOOK XX.

1605.

I. Conclusion of the process against the counts d'Auvergne and d'Entragues. Complaisance and weakness of Henry IV for the marchioness de Verneuil.—II. The Jesuits procure the demolition of the pyramid. Great dispute between Rosny and father Cotton, on the subject of the college of Poitiers: he defends himself against the calumnies of his enemies: his reconciliation with father Cotton: he quarrels with the duke d'Epernon and Grillon: their reconciliation. Instances of the fantastical humour of Grillon.—III. New calumnies against Rosny, by which he is in danger of being disgraced. An affecting conversation with Henry, in which they are reconciled: an interesting detail of this whole affair. Another attempt of Rosny's enemies to ruin him: marriage of his daughter with the duke of Rohan. Henry refuses the duke of Rohan the lieutenancy of St. Jean-d'Angely. Farther favours refused or granted by the king to Rosny: the king's design of marrying mademoiselle de Melun to the marquis de Cœuvres.

I. THE process carried on in the parliament against the counts d'Auvergne and d'Entragues, and the marchioness de Verneuil, terminated in an arret issued the beginning of this year, by which the two counts were condemned to lose their heads, and the marchioness to be shut up, during the rest of her life, in a cloister. I received the first news of this from the king, who sent for me, to acquaint me with the sentence; and, afterwards drawing me aside to the balcony of the first gallery in the Louvre, asked me what impression I thought

this treatment would make on the mind of his mistress. I asked his majesty, in my turn, whether, in proposing this question, he wished that I should tell him my sentiments freely. "Yes, yes," replied Henry, "do not be apprehensive that I shall be offended; I have been long "accustomed to your freedoms." I then told him, that he himself could answer this question better than any other person; for if he gave the marchioness reason to believe that he was wholly cured of his passion, and animated with a just indignation against her, he would see her have recourse to submission, to prayers and tears to move him; but if on the contrary, he suffered her to suspect that he had acted only under the impression of a mere love-quarrel, she would not recede from her former insolence of behaviour.

I afterwards frankly confessed to Henry, that whichsoever of these two parts should be taken by madame de Verneuil, I was persuaded the consequence would be still the same, for many reasons, among which, his natural clemency, and his consideration for the children he had by his mistress, did not seem to be the least. "I would have you visit her," said his majesty to me; "I want to know what she will say to you, and if she "will not employ you as an intercessor for her to me." I entreated his majesty, with the utmost earnestness, to dispense with me both from the visit and the intercession; I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to lose entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithstanding I had always supported her interest against her rival, I had been represented as an artful incendiary, and the venal spy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that such insinuations had been given the queen more

than a month since: I told the king so, and named three persons to him, who had been the authors of them, and represented to him, that there wanted only this step, which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of serving him with this princess, on occasions which he was sensible recurred but too frequently. Henry contested this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another those infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the strongest dislike; and if I still took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the conclusion of it from being as shameful for Henry, as I foresaw it was likely to be.

This prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taste; and here the gross servility of a court was fully displayed. As soon as it was perceived that the king could neither disengage himself from his mistress, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary slaves to the passions of the sovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this disposition: no one dared to contradict either the queen or the marchioness, and only feigned to do so, when the nature of their commission required it; they but half served his anger, that they might always have their justification ready for both sides. Sigogne had been sent to me by his majesty, with a very severe order concerning the marchioness, conceived in the strongest terms: he did not scruple to suppress one half of it; and, what is indeed astonishing, Henry discovered that he did so, told me of it, and yet continued to make use of him! If this prince carried weakness to an extravagant length, his courtiers pushed their flattery still farther; it was never better known to what degree of

ingenuity, and at the same time of servility, meanness, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the marchioness de Verneuil; but it was matter of general surprise, to find that the lenity shown her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which marshal Biron had suffered: the count d'Auvergne's sentence* was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the bastile, where for once, he had leisure to grow weary† of confinement; that of the lady's father, into a banishment to his own estates: and as for her, she had a full pardon,‡ and even dictated the conditions herself.

* "The king changed this punishment," says Bassompierre, "to an im-"prisonment for life, partly in consideration of madam d'Angouléme, who "most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, "which is, that the late king, Henry III, his predecessor, had on his death "bed, recommended only the count d'Auvergne, and M. Le Grand to his "favour: and he would therefore not have it said, that he put the man to "death, who had been so affectionately recommended to him, by the per-"son from whom he had received the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M. de Sully, nor Henry IV himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age, when, in 1644, he took for his second wife mademoiselle de Nargonne; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in-law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

‡ "The king," says Perefixe, "permitted the marchioness to retire to "Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney-general's "finding any evidence against her, by the king's order, she was declared "guiltless of the crime whereof she was accused. He also, says the Mer-"cure François, dispensed with her personal attendance on the parliament "to get her letters of pardon registered, which were allowed by the par-"liament on the 6th of September." See the particulars of this process in M. de Thou, an. 1605. Siri, ibid. p. 299, and other historians.

The affair between the king and the marchioness could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between him and the queen, to whom this last instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress, afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate; it was the business of the night as well as the day, to compose these differences: no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm arose immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former state. At my return from the Limosin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before: what could be done, in an evil so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence? and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever solicitations they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house, where I sent him to search for some papers. I act upon the same plan at present with the public, to whom I do not communicate all these little quarrels, which they would find a needless repetition of disputes, reproaches, jealousies, and violent designs, of which the reader is, I believe, already sufficiently weary.

From the disposition the count d'Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very easy under his confinement in the bastile, nor d'Entragues relish the inactive life he was compelled to in spite of himself. It was discovered, six months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the secret of getting intelligence even in his prison, the means of escaping from the bastile. It was a rope-maker who gave information of this design, and supported his evidence with so many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevot, searching the wood of Malesherbes, found the cords, pullies, and other engines, with which the projected escape was to be effected; for which d'Entragues was afterwards arrested, and obliged to go through an examination at his own house. He alleged, that he was not obliged to answer the grand prevot; there was a necessity therefore, for forcing him to it by a special commission, which his majesty sent for that purpose, from the province where he then was.

In the mean time d'Entragues composed a kind of case, written and signed by his own hand, to justify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the specious manner in which he glossed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author: yet, with all his subtility of reasoning, he could not clear himself of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Malesherbes. He defended himself much worse when, notwithstanding this paper, he found himself obliged to go through an examination: he maintained, with great obstinacy, that no bad intention could be proved against him, by the

discovery of those cords and pullies. The grand prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occasion; he took care to keep all the domestics of d'Entragues separate, that they might have no opportunity to consult either with their master, or with one another. But notwithstanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet through the whole procedure against the criminal, something so favourable was perceived, that he had no great reason to be apprehensive, although the rope-maker furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused among others, a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of every thing; and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the bastile, to confine the count d'Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

II. [I proceed now to the conclusion of another affair, which was begun and almost finished during the preceding year: this was the entire restoration of the Jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the king, thought nothing was granted while the pyramid,* raised upon the foundation of

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite to the palace, there being only the street betwixt them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (before mentioned, in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions, conceived in terms the most injurious to the Jesuits. We do not think it necessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the Memoirs of the League, vol. VI. D'Aubigné, vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 9033, where the French translation of them made at that time may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. de Thou's works, and the Mercure François, which may also be

Chatel's house still remained. His majesty, persecuted with prayers and intreaties upon this article, consented at last that it should be referred to his council. I thought, and several others were of the same opinion, that the society had no reason to complain of ill treatment, if the council came to no other resolution about it, than to erase the inscription on the pillar, which was indeed too severe: but they knew so well how to gain over the greatest part of those who composed the council to their side, that they obtained an arret such as they desired.]*

I cannot admit, that my conduct, on this occasion, should merit the whole weight of the Jesuits' indignation: however, my ruin appeared to these fathers, and to the three especially who played the greatest game at the court, to be of such consequence to religion, the common cause, and their own particular interests, that

consulted, touching the demolition of this pyramid, anno 1605, agree† with M. de Sully, that it became a kind of justice, to deface these inscriptions, when the Jesuits were restored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they also observe, that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noon-day, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that purpose by the king, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order for it," says Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683, "was directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The "most valuable of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottos "of St. Germain." [A representation of this pyramid was engraved by Jean le Clerc, engraver to the king: but the impressions of it were so carefully bought up by the Jesuits, and destroyed, that they are rarely to be met with, except in the collections of the curious. See the "Supplement aux Mémoires de Sully," edition in 12mo. 1758. EDIT.]

* This paragraph is enclosed within brackets because it is entirely the compiler's; there is nothing more said in the old Memoirs respecting this pyramid, than that all the particulars relating to its demolition were left to the historian. EDIT.

† This is not true; de Thou, on the contrary, adduces many arguments for preserving the pyramid. See Lib. CXXXIV. n. 9. EDIT.

it was resolved to effect it if possible. With the three Jesuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court associated themselves, whom I shall name no more. All that was now necessary, was to recall to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name, indeed, but not the spirit nor the policy, was banished the court: they found no difficulty to increase their party considerably in a very short time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whose soft and effeminate lives, it was owned, I had censured with more imprudence than injustice. The Jesuits, by making themselves useful to their associates, drew great advantages from them; so that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very considerable revenues.

They did not, however, succeed every where with equal facility: the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their services very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourse to letters from his majesty: the fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to ask them of the king, in whom so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they would, at last, endanger the royal authority; he brought Poitiers for an example, where, notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a settlement in that city, though, at the same time, it had solicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the

other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his majesty, as their enemies of Poitiers were.

The king had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes valued himself, which enabled him to discover, by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenances of those who spoke to him, all that passed in their hearts.* He answered the father, that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere calumny, for which he had no other foundation, than some reports that had been made to him; for that having spoke to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my assistance. "Ah! sire," replied the father, "God keep me from offending in any "manner those you love, and by whom you think your-"self so faithfully served; I will love them and serve "them myself; but if your majesty has any inclination "to be convinced of the truth by incontestable proofs, "nothing is more easy than to produce such, as shall "leave no doubt of the certainty of what I have had the "honour to tell you." The king asked, with still greater earnestness, if he was sure he could prove what he had advanced; the father again affirmed it. "Well," said Henry, leaving him, "I will consider of this matter." And he sent for me that instant.

As soon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took

* Matthieu has observed the same thing of Henry IV. "He could form "a judgment," says he, "of a man's actions and words, from his look and "manner." Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

me by the hand and led me into the Orangery, where, as we walked, he asked me, as if without any design, how the affair went on at Poitiers, concerning the Jesuits founding a college there. I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having resolved not to concern myself with them for those considerations I had mentioned to his majesty. "Think well what you say," replied this prince, "for they would "persuade me that it is you alone who prevent their "establishment in that city." I assured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly or indirectly, opposed their settling there, nor even expressed the least dislike to it. "Well," said the king, "since it is so, take no "notice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took father Cotton aside: "Who has told you these idle tales of M. de Rosny?" said he; "they are absolutely false, as I indeed sus- "pected they were." "They will not be found so," replied the father; and for a proof of his assertion, told him, that I had written several letters to the bishop of Poitiers, the treasurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing, expressly ordering them to oppose the settling of the Jesuits there. He added, that he had seen these letters himself; and that they were in the hands of a man of strict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you shew me these letters?" said the king. "Yes, sire," replied the Jesuit, "whenever your majesty pleases." The king, who till now had suspended his belief, could not for this once hinder himself from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you "to-morrow," said he to the father, "and give you all "the necessary orders upon this affair."

I came the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the king having sent me orders to attend him very early: he talked to me of the usual dispatches and the present affairs; then taking me again into the Orangery, I guessed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to say to me. "You know," said he, "how much I love you, but you "likewise know how much I love truth and hate all "insincerity; you have used it with me; and although "I never conceal any of my secrets from you, you have "dissembled with me, in the answer you gave me to "the question I asked you concerning the Jesuits. I "am not offended at your conduct in that affair; as "they never discovered any great friendship for you, "it could not therefore be expected that you should be- "come their advocate; but I am grieved to find that "you are capable of dissimulation, you who profess to "be a lover of truth and sincerity."

My astonishment was so great that I listened to the king in a profound silence; at length, recovering myself, "Sire," said I, "this is one of the blackest impos- "tures that ever was invented; the only favour I im- "plore is, that you will insist upon a full explanation "of this matter. If the Jesuits can prove their accu- "sation to be true, inflict what punishment you please "upon me, I shall never complain: but if it is found to "be false, suffer me, sire, I most humbly implore you, "to do myself public justice, that I may prevent such "designs from being undertaken against me for the "future; for if there is a necessity for my being con- "tinually employed in defending my conduct, it will be "no longer possible for me to attend to state affairs, "the number and weight of which are already more

"than I can well bear." "What!" interrupted the king, "have you not written any thing against the Je-"suits, and prevented their founding a college at Poi-"tiers? think a little, and refresh your memory, that "you may not engage to maintain any thing, of which "the contrary may be proved against you." "No, "sire," I replied, "I swear by my God and all my hopes "of salvation, that what I say is true." "What ma-"lignant minds are these!" pursued the king, moved with a just indignation, "which can never cease to en-"vy virtue, or be weary of their fruitless attempts to "ruin those who are faithful to my service; leave this "affair to me," continued he, "I will search it to the "bottom, and discover, if possible, both its source and "its authors."

He left me at these words to go and hear mass at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he should find father Cotton; and, calling him, renewed the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for the letters which he said he had seen. "Those letters, "sire," said the father, "are in the hands of a person "of honour, and I will answer for the truth of what "that person said, as well as that the letters he shewed "me are genuine." "It is enough," returned the king, "but go and bring them to me, that I may see them; "I know his hand-writing and his signature as well as "my own, having received more than two thousand "letters from him in my life." The father, perplexed by so unseasonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appealing to his majesty's knowledge of his veraci-ty, and his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. "I am "willing to believe you," said this prince to him, "but "I would also have others believe you, by shewing them

"these letters: therefore do not fail," pursued he in a severe tone, "to bring them to me, for I am determin-"ed to see them, that I may convict of malice and "fraud those who are really guilty. Go, and return "again immediately."

There was no reply to be made to an order so positive; the father retired with a low reverence; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day: he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the absence of the person who was possessed of these letters. But there was a necessity to find another excuse for returning without them, which would cost the father much more. He told the king, that this nobleman's valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown those letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thousand new assurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The king, however, was not disposed to pay himself with that sort of coin: "How!" said he, interrupting him in a rage, "have "they burned these letters? this is not to be believed." And perceiving that father Cotton, who was sensible this affair would not rest as it was, equivocated in his answers, and seemed desirous that nothing more should be said of it, he quitted him in disgust. "Rosny," said he, approaching and taking me aside, "your let-"ters have been burnt."

I came again to his majesty, to propose an expedient to him, which I thought would entirely silence my accuser; this was, to prevail upon the king to write to the bishop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city, to produce all the letters they had received from me; and to write to them myself in the clearest manner upon the subject. I carried with me all the originals of these

letters, in which his majesty found nothing to take offence at: he ordered his secretaries to write those letters which were to be in his name, immediately: and sent them to Poitiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters, the bishop and the magistrates of the city sent the sieur de la Parisiere to give his majesty all the information he desired. La Parisiere, in the name of all his fellow citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jesuits; and presented to the king all they had been able to collect.

Among a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to St. Marthe, the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words: "With regard to the Je-"suits' college, I know not why you make so many dif-"ficulties about that, and persist in your solicitation for "the royal college, of which you have written to me, "since you know, as la Parisiere has often told you from "me, that you will never obtain of the king what is "necessary for it, and that he absolutely commands "the other should be allowed; it is your part, there-"fore, to act prudently, and do that with a good grace, "which in the end you will be obliged to do, whether "willing or not: be it your care only, upon receiving "them, to make such regulations as may not leave it in "their power to disturb the tranquillity of the city "or province; or make any alteration in that union

"maintained at present between the two religions, that "the king may be served with duty and affection by all."

The fourth letter, addressed to the bishop of Poitiers, is yet stronger: after some business and some compliments, which made up the first part of it, the king read these words: "I always doubted, that the Je- "suits would not find people as kind and charitable in "actions as in words: for my own part, if the province "is willing they should have a settlement in it, and that "they will resolve to live quietly there, without embit- "tering the minds of the people, or doing any thing to "disturb that harmony which at present subsists be- "tween the two religions, I should be glad to see them "in my government, and will do them all the service "I can; but if they foment divisions there, or give rise "to any jealousies and distrusts, I had rather they were "any where else."

The king's courier, as he passed through Paris, which his majesty had just quitted and set out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular answer to the letter I had written to the bishop of Poitiers, of which these are the contents: That father Moussy, the Jesuit, had brought him a letter from father Cotton, in which the latter mentioned certain letters, supposed to be written by me to him, against the establishment and honour of the society, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majesty. The bishop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged father Moussy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of such consequence so lightly; and acted still more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that father Moussy had seen all the letters, and found

nothing in them which could authorise such an accusation, and undertook to undeceive father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had seen.

The bishop of Poitiers, who really believed the existence of this imaginary letter of accusation against me, which father Cotton had told him, in his, had been sent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him service to discover the author of it, sent me word, that he would use his utmost endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was signed *Guillaume;* but that no person knew better than father Cotton himself; for although, as he was likewise informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the subscription of it: the bishop's letter is dated March 23, 1605. I showed it to Sillery, who set out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his majesty: but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of those which had been sent me from Poitiers. I perceived that this new proof of my sincerity had increased his esteem for me.

The next day the king sent for Richelieu and Pont Courlai, and asked them if they knew who it was that had suggested to father Cotton the complaints he had made against me? and whether they had any share in it? They replied, that very far from engaging themselves in the affair, they had earnestly advised father Cotton never to mention to the king those letters, whether supposititious, or written by some impostor under a feigned name; because that if his majesty gave credit to my words in matters wherein my religion might ren-

der me suspected, he had much more reason to believe me, rather than those idle reports received to my prejudice. The king answered, that they must prevail upon me to use the same moderation in this business, as they had advised father Cotton to, and prevent, said he, all occasions of misunderstanding between my faithful servants, as well in political as ecclesiastical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himself.

I submitted with a good grace to this reconciliation: after the two agents had assured me father Cotton had no intention to injure me; they intreated me to allow the father to wait on me, and assure me of the truth himself. I consented, and they brought him the next day. This father told me, that it was true, he had complained of having a secret enemy, who opposed the establishment of a college at Poitiers, but that he had no thought of me. However, his majesty had understood that he meant me, and made me believe so likewise: that although in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services. In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

It was probably in consequence of this reconciliation, that father Richeome of Bourdeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me: he takes notice, in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable to the professors of my religion (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Lo-

retto) yet he had made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom indeed the highest eulogiums were given in it;) to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day: and reminded me of a little present he had made me the preceding year, which was a book, intituled, *The Apologetic Remonstrance of the Jesuits to the King.** I told him, in my answer, that knowing myself to be capable of loving even my enemies, his society might from thence judge what were my sentiments concerning those who professed themselves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wishes for wishes, and even book for book; for I sent him the Journey to Jerusalem, in return for that to Loretto.

If any one doubts, that these professions of esteem which were made me by the Jesuits were not sincere, let him suspend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to ascribe them to; I will not omit any circumstances of the fact I am going to relate, as I do not imagine they will seem tedious to the reader, since they concern persons so distinguished at court as the duke d'Epernon, and Grillon,† colonel of a regiment of guards.

* This is the last of that father's works against Antony Arnaud: he wrote many books with great success on behalf of his order.

† Lewis Berto de Crillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of *Dreadnought*. I find in the Life of the Duke d'Epernon, a story very proper to be related along with what the duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The duke of Guise, to whom

Grillon had at first the same unfavourable sentiments for me with which almost all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the siege of Charbonnieres, during the war with Savoy, his friendship for me became stronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to visit the quarter of the artillery, where I was; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was observ-

"he had been sent after the reduction of Marseilles, having a mind to try "his courage," says the historian, "agreed with some gentlemen, to give "a sudden alarm before Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy had been mas- "ters of the town; at the same time he ordered two horses to the door; and "going up into Grillon's room, told him all was lost; that the enemy were "masters of the port and town; that they had forced the guards, and broke "and put to flight all that opposed them; that finding it impossible to resist "them any longer, he thought it was better for them to retreat, than by "suffering themselves to be taken, add to the enemy's victory; that he had "therefore ordered two horses to be brought, which were ready at the door; "and desired he would make haste, for fear they should give the enemy "time to surprise them. Grillon was asleep when the alarm was given, "and was hardly awake whilst the duke of Guise was saying this to him. 'However, without being at all disconcerted by so sudden an alarm, "he called for his clothes and his arms, saying, They ought not, on too "slight grounds, to give credit to all that was said of the enemy; and, "even if the account should prove true, it was more becoming men of ho- "nour to die with their arms in their hands, than to survive the loss of the "place. The duke of Guise, not being able to prevail on him to change "this resolution, followed him out of the room; but when they were got half "way down stairs, not being able to contain himself any longer, he burst "out a laughing; by which Grillon discovered the trick that had been play- "ed him. He thereupon assumed a look much sterner than when he only "thought of going to fight, and squeezing the duke of Guise's hand, said "to him, swearing at the same time, (for he always begun his discourse with "the most horrible oaths) 'Young man, never make it a jest to try the cou- "'rage of a man of honour; for, by God! hadst thou made me betray any "'weakness, I would have plunged my dagger in thy heart:' and then left "him, without saying a word more.—Page 176.

ing a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down, and myself and those who accompanied me were within reach of a battery, from whence the discharges began to be so frequent, that I resolved to defer doing the business I was about till a more favourable opportunity, when we needed not uselessly endanger our lives. "How! *morbleu,*" my grand-master, said Grillon to me, with an air, and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you "afraid of guns in the company of Grillon? *Arnidieu!* "since I am here they will not dare to come nigh us; "let us go to those trees I see about two hundred paces "from hence, we may reconnoitre the ravelin there "with less danger." "Let us go then," replied I, smiling, "since we are trying who shall show himself most "mad; but since you are the oldest, I would willingly "allow you to be the wisest also." Probably I should have done better to have paid no attention to what he said; however, I took his hand, and led him so far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whistle strongly about our ears. "*Arnidieu!*" said Grillon, "these rogues have no regard to the grand-"master's baton, or the cross of the Holy Ghost, and "may probably lame us; let us gain that range of trees "and those hedges, which may shelter us; for, *par la* "*corbieu,* you are an honest fellow, and worthy to be "grand-master: I will, during my whole life, be one "of the most faithful of your servants; let us vow an "inviolable friendship to each other; do you promise "me yours?" I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with greater affection than he had ever shown to any other person whatever, not even, as

it was said, to the king himself; and this adventure, which had given rise to it, he talked of to every one.

By what means I regained the duke d'Epernon's friendship, has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me and desired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I represented to him, that he had been paid already all he could with reason demand upon that account; and that what he farther required, was but a possession without a claim, or rather an usurpation, which his favour with Henry the Third had given him an opportunity of committing (for this was a discovery I had lately made), and that I resolved to cut it off for the future, unless he brought me an order from the king, by which this supplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epernon, offended at this discourse, complained to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that I was become his enemy. His majesty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I opposed the advice given by the count de Soissons, to arrest him with marshal Biron. This circumstance, which d'Epernon had never before been acquainted with, made a great impression upon his mind: "Do you assure me, sire," said he to the king, "that it was from "M. de Rosny I received this act of friendship?" "Yes, "I assure you of it," replied this prince, "for I am not "used to lie, especially in things of consequence."

D'Epernon left Fontainebleau the same day, and set out for Paris in a hired coach, having sent one of his own before to Essonne, where it was to wait for him: I had left Paris in the same manner, his majesty having sent for me to Fontainebleau: d'Epernon and I met

each other in a place over against a chapel above Essonne; the duke ordered his coachman to stop, and called out to me, that he intreated I would give him an opportunity to say one word to me: we both alighted. "I "have too long," said he, approaching me, "been "under a great obligation to you, without paying you "those acknowledgments you merit from me." He then repeated what the king had just told him, and, in the transport of his gratitude, loaded me with praises and assurances of the most inviolable friendship. I replied with my usual sincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumstance he mentioned, since it was the business of every honest man to take the part of innocence, exclusive of all interest and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be still further convinced, that all my intentions, with respect to him, had been equitable, and more so than he had sometimes believed. This affair produced such a perfect good intelligence between us, that eight days after, being upon the point of setting out for Guienne, d'Epernon made me a visit, to request one of those little favours of me with which a man takes pleasure to oblige his friends.

The duke had been informed that some persons, who were enemies to him, earnestly solicited Grillon to resign his colonel's commission, in favour of another, whom he had likewise as little reason to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his resigning this post till he returned from Guienne: and this I promised him. During d'Epernon's absence, his majesty was told some things to his disadvantage, which determined him to give the post to a man who was not so much devoted to

the duke d'Epernon as Grillon: it was not with this view, that the affair was proposed to Grillon from the king, but because he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exercise of this employment, and was soon to take a journey to Provence, where his stay was likely to be very long. He was given to understand, that it was for these two reasons his majesty wished he would dispose of this employment, and promised to procure him a good price for it.

Grillon, singular and fantastic to the last degree, and already a little distempered in his brain, only shook his head, without answering the three first times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards suspected, that it was I whom the king had in view to succeed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, asked me if it was not so, making me, at the same time, many offers of service. It was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it should be given me for nothing. "How!" returned Grillon immediately; "sure you do not think an employment which "Grillon has possessed unworthy of you? *Arnibleau*, "my grand-master, you are very vain, for since I have "filled it, it is worthy the best of you." "I know," replied I, "that one Grillon is of more value than a "thousand Rosnys; but I have other reasons which "hinder me from thinking of it." "Oh, very well, that "is enough," said he: and then, without my solicitation, engaged not to resign it till I should advise him to it, and then only to that person who should be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a serious answer to any of the proposals that were made to him on this subject.

At length the king was obliged to talk to him himself; he sent for him, and repeated the same arguments which were used to him before, to prevail upon him to resign a post, the duties of which were incompatible with the long stay he proposed to make in his native country, adding a thousand kind and obliging things upon the valour and services of Grillon. "By what I can "understand, sire," replied Grillon, "you want me to "quit your service, and that I should become absolutely "papistical; for you know I am born a subject to the "pope." "Ah no, Grillon," said his majesty, "that is "not my intention:" then adding new reasons drawn from the nature of his employment; "So then in good "earnest," said Grillon to him again, "you would have "me resign my employment; and since it is your desire, "I will not do it, at least to the person for whom I hear "it is designed."

This speech, indeed, was no great indication of a sound mind; he withdrew in a rage, but the king, who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a resolution to speak to him no more of the matter, so little was this prince inclined to use any restraint to persons who had served him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and some other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them said, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were to employ d'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The king replied, that he would never dispose of it, at the solicitation of the duke d'Epernon; neither did he desire that I should accept of it: but that he believed I would not refuse to entreat Grillon to yield

it to the person he had in view. His majesty did not name this person, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompense for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet, to come to me, and propose it as a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

At first I made no other answer to these gentlemen, than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair; but upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them, with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the duke d'Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the king, he was immediately seized with so violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before: doubtless the occasion of it would appear very slight, if I did not, at the same time, inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and had brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismission from my employments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised every day against me, all which I shall particularise hereafter: for the present, it is sufficient to say, that the poison had been so subtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I shall not here use the ordinary style of those who have suffered such trials, when they exclaim, with so much vehemence, against the ingratitude and injustice they have met with from princes; I always suspect that such outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny against the absent successful, nothing more is requisite than to find the means of opening the mind to suspicion, and to those, who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewise every thing to foresee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and justify this suspicion. How many appearances of fidelity are there, so well disguised, that truth itself could hardly assume any other face, especially before kings, from whom one would imagine she delights to conceal herself? But are there not many ministers, likewise, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their sovereigns? To all these considerations, Henry, on his side, added a too curious and too active research into all possible contingencies, wherein, for the present or the future, any danger to the state might be apprehended; and I, on my part, too little solicitude to lessen his suspicion, which was not so much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conscience clear and irreproachable: it is not surprising, therefore, that the artifices of my enemies had made so deep an impression in the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, that any sovereign who imagines such a conduct necessary to support his interests and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by lessening, himself, that respect and deference which he ought to oblige his subjects to show to those, to whom he has confided these interests, and by whom that honour is maintained.

When the three men, whom the king had employed in the affair of Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had said, which had occasioned those transports of rage against me, Villeroi, Sillery, la Varenne, and father Cotton, came very seasonably for him to discharge this heavy burthen. I had no reason to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my stars; for he repeated my words to them, and his own sentiments upon them, with the most violent emotions of rage. "How!" said he to them, perceiving that they made him no answer, "you are silent, you "say not a word; but, by heaven," pursued he, "all "this looks ill; for since fire and water mingle so well "together (it was d'Epernon and me whom he meant) "there must be higher designs, at least on one side, "than I could ever have imagined; but I shall take care "to prevent them." It was absolutely in the power of those four persons, to whom the king addressed this discourse, to prevent these suspicions from going so far; one word only would have sufficed: but they took care not to say that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king's saying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the most useful servant he had, and that he should never cease to lament the loss of me; they, to add fuel to fire, under a feigned solicitude to alleviate his majesty's disquiet, began to praise, with the utmost ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the state had of me, and the dependance which that necessarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreign-

ers, and with what ease I could put every thing in motion, without stirring out of my closet; praises which I neither merited in their good nor bad sense. Certainly envy can assume every disguise, since it can oblige men, not only to praise those whom they most abhor, but in their praises outdo flattery itself.

The four confidants had reason to applaud themselves for this last stroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the king's anger against me, but only to mix with it the strongest emotions of jealousy, distrust, and apprehension: that this was the state of his mind they were well assured, when he told them, that, if I resigned myself up to the ambitious desire of becoming head of a party, my credit was so great, and my friends so numerous, that I was able to do the state more harm, than admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought there was nothing more necessary to be done, than to suffer those black suspicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the king, after having thus instilled the poison into his heart. Henry, in this state of mind, was no longer capable either of secrecy or art; he spoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noise of my disgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

I had likewise my friends in the court, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practised against me by my enemies, and of what was said by the king. I am not sure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occasion as I had already done on many others of the same nature, in which Henry of himself returned

from his suspicions and disgusts, to his usual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in supporting itself by proofs, and to exaggerate its merit by praises: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honest shame at being obliged to secure that elevation by methods less worthy; yet it is evident on many occasions, that if virtue is not assisted by chance and industry, her own strength is not sufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majesty had not yet fixed, for any considerable time, in any of his palaces, but had consumed the months of January and February in journeys to Saint Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, staying but a short time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, he was at Chantilly. I shall not transcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to justify; it contained only general assurances of innocence, and arguments simple indeed and unstudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I observed to his majesty, that, during twenty-two of thirty-three years which I had been in his service, the favours I had received from him had been but very small, although I had been at considerable expenses; yet since that consideration, the lowness of my fortunes, and the prospect of a decent establishment elsewhere, which might have given some excuse for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do so; it was not credible I should do so now, when I saw myself so

generously rewarded, when my fortune could only increase, and when so many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person, than my offices and employments. It was not probable, therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one half of these advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune: that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I could not clear myself, in two words, whenever his majesty informed me of it; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him: but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon solid proofs: that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me; being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which case, I was ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, choosing rather the obscurity of a private life with his favour, than the splendour of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I was convinced, by the answer which his majesty sent me, that the informations I had received were not false; he addressed me in it with the title of cousin in-

stead of friend: though short, it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circumspection and reserve, which was not usual with him, ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place: the king only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my business to suffer the world to talk of me as it pleased, and continue to serve him well. I pretended, however, to be satisfied with this letter, and after having done all that was necessary upon this occasion, conscious of my own innocence, I was persuaded that eagerness and precipitation did not become me; I therefore waited till his majesty was willing to enter into a discussion of the affair with me, and continued to act as usual.

The king, after staying at Chantilly six or seven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his presence was necessary: he began to have a fondness for the former, from whence he also wrote to me, that he was much better in health (as I should perceive by his countenance as soon as I saw him;) that he eat and slept well there, never rising before seven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at least, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was mistaken; he took not the smallest notice of it, although he staid there eight days, and four mornings successively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tuilleries: Villeroi and Sillery indeed were present. After giving us all the necessary orders, he set out for Fontainebleau, still keeping up the same reserve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I observed a little before, that they supplied all which was yet wanting to make his majesty resolve my ruin; and, as he staid there during the whole of the months of April and May, they had time sufficient to effect their purpose, and brought him to the point we have already seen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguished the sooner, if no more fuel be added to it; and it is not so easy to support it as some have imagined, especially with princes who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate, like Henry's, the passions once inflamed will, at first, carry them very far from their purpose, but never so far but that they may be brought back by reason: and from dispositions like these, one will have violent fits of anger to sustain; but to make amends, there is neither obstinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor studied artifices to apprehend. It was this reason which induced me to wait with more patience than I should otherwise have done, for the issue of an affair so complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in those short excursions I made from time to time to Fontainebleau, I appeared always the same. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themselves, although so fully persuaded of my innocence, that all of them would willingly have become sureties for my conduct: they expressed great surprise at his majesty's behaviour to me, and could not keep silence at court, and probably in secret taxed the prince with injustice. Upon this occasion, I received from the family of Lorrain all the kind offices of sincere and affectionate relations.

At length my wishes and expectations were answered: the king, finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced against me, began to fear he had been a little too hasty; my past services rose to his remembrance; my present conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts: he was struck with all this, and regretted that he had suffered any expressions of anger to escape him, being convinced that nothing was more just and reasonable than the request I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau, he sent la Varenne, d'Escures, and Beringhen to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity; however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroi and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose, which I was convinced of as soon as I found that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence, that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themselves; this was about a dispatch from Ancel,* who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others: they had orders to make advances, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission, and like true mediators: they turned the conversation from business, to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortification ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must

* William Ancel, master of the household, resident at Vienna.

give to a man of honour: they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniences under the reigning king.

I saw clearly enough, that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art, on their side, as made it evident they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime, when they made their report to his majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride; I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not doubt but that there were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his majesty was too just and too good, to treat, in that manner, such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as, for example, I believed my own to be; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth, yet I should think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners; but they had recourse to other artifices to force from me some expression of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all, and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapt up in reserve, that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy to judge what these two gentlemen would have said, if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but I was fully determined not to open myself, on this subject, to the

king himself, unless he led to it first: and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I waited on his majesty as usual, to receive his orders before I went away; I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chase. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good-morrow, ceremoniously calling me *monsieur:* all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, *My friend Rosny,* or *Grand-master;* but that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know what he did, he struck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one against the other, convinced me that I was not mistaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor disgust in this behaviour. I had likewise made him a much more profound bow than usual, which, as he afterwards told me, moved him so much, that it was with difficulty he could restrain himself from falling that instant upon my neck. He continued musing some moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chase, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, surprised at this sudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with some emotion; "I will not ride this morning, take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a conversation, directing himself sometimes to one, sometimes to another, and choosing such subjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of speaking; but observing I was still

silent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M. le Grand," said he "let us walk, I would talk with you a little, "that you may set out to day on your journey to Bur- "gundy." They had some private business together, which related chiefly to some idle tales and quarrels of women.

When they came to the door of the little staircase which leads to the queen's garden, the king called l'Oserai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him observe whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I staid in the same place during the whole time that his majesty was talking to M. le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie: but I observed that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king, I advanced, and desired to know if his majesty had any orders for me. "And where are you going?" said he. "To Paris, Sire," replied I, "upon the business you spoke to me of two "days since." "Well, go then," said the king; "I still "recommend to you the care of my affairs, and desire "that you should continue to love me." I bowed low; he embraced me as usual, and I took the road to my own house; but scarce had I got to the distance of three hundred paces, when looking back, I saw la Varenne running after me, crying, "Sir, the king would speak "with you;" his majesty, seeing me return, struck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a distance, "Come hither," said he: "have you nothing to say to me?" "No, sire," I replied, "not at present." "Well then, I have some- thing to say to you," answered he with precipitation; and taking my hand, led me into the grove of white

mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiss centinels, who did not understand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canals which surrounded the grove.

The king began by embracing me twice in a most affectionate manner, which the courtiers easily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our gestures; then calling me friend, and resuming his former familiarity with me, he told me, with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldness and reserve with which we had for a month past behaved towards each other, must needs be very painful to two persons who, for three and thirty years, had been accustomed to the most unlimited confidence, and that it was time to deprive those who were the cause of it of an occasion of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom's increasing prosperity. The heart of this good prince opened as he spoke to me; he added, that, earnestly desiring we should both forget what had happened, he thought it necessary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had passed on his side, either with respect to the informations which had been given him against me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and lastly, the words and actions by which he had made those unfavourable impressions public. He intreated, commanded, and made me promise to follow the example he was going to give me, to discover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my sentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itself, with the same unreserved freedom he should use towards me; "That before we leave this "place," said he, "our minds may be wholly freed from "doubts and suspicion, and both perfectly satisfied

"with each other; therefore, as I shall open my whole "heart freely to you, I must entreat you will not dis- "guise yours from me." I gave him my word of honour that I would most faithfully obey this injunction.

The king then began, first, by naming all those persons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occasion, as well by deeds as words, among which there were some of all ranks and ages, and many who had served his majesty as long as myself; these, I believe, I may divide into seven classes; in the first I shall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the second, the king's mistresses, with their children, and such as either through the ties of blood or friendship supported their interests, and served their passions; among these were Cœuvres, Fresnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the marchioness de Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated these two classes against me, was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was composed of the partizans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whose politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this class was increased by many members of the council, as Villeroi, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jesuits: in the fourth I comprehend all the petit-maitres, court-favourites, and idle insignificant persons, who load Paris with an useless weight; these were actuated by their resentment against me, for preventing his majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs; the number of these is too great, and themselves too contemptible, to sully the paper with their names: the fifth was made up of the sedi-

tions and malecontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise economy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin: the financiers and other men of business made up the sixth, and they indeed had no reason to be much my friends.

The seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned; these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince, by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money; men, for the most part, formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once shining fortune remained, than the detestable science of impoverishing the people; which, for their own interest, and by an effect of long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majesty; but finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them, since his majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art, which discovered dispositions nearly the same; this was to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and be the venal instruments of those, who either durst not or would not appear themselves in the satirical libels which filled the court; it was by them that these contemptible pieces were composed, spread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated; the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively sallies of wit, opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an easy and spirited conversation. Although he was, perhaps, upon his guard against their malignant strokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of those whom he had at first despised or banished from his presence, found means afterwards

to make themselves be heard. In this list would be found none but names so obscure, that they do not deserve to be raked from the dust, such as Juvigny, Parisis, le Maine, Beaufort, Bersot, Longuet, Chalange, Versenai, Santeny, &c. if Saney, who merits the first place among them, had not completed his own dishonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and excess had left him no other resource. He was obliged to sell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, because he was not willing they should go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchase them.

The king, after recounting the names of the authors, gave me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could devise, when animated by an eager desire to destroy, was practised by them; wherever the king turned his steps, he saw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the same kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they presented him, under shew of zeal for the state, and affection for his person; these papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow; they caused them to be presented to him by persons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his sleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when, by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, become gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me, that he was so imposed upon by these artifices,

that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me; and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their intentions, that at the very time when he seemed so weary of this infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them; yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cause them to be read to him.

It must necessarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me; as, for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjust to those who served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to: they likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him, in writing to me on all these occasions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice, or a mark of his dependance. It was by these insinuations they began at first; and while they went no farther, the king, who found only new occasion to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me; but to put these critics to silence, he only required summaries of the state debts which I had discharged, to shew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity, I severely reproved those persons for their too free censures, while, under a false pretence of being denied justice, they suffered expressions to escape them in their rage, with which his majesty had good reason to be offended. But they soon left these slight accusations for others of greater consequence.

Henry, to excuse the credulity with which he had believed these slanders, would have me judge myself of the libels in which they were contained. But as it would have been a tedious task to read them all, he fixed upon one,* which Juvigny had shewn him twelve days before, and which had been made public, because in this all the different calumnies which were scattered throughout many other libels had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind could be: there was indeed some little intricacy in it, but it was written, however, with a sufficient force of style and judgment, to persuade his majesty that it proceeded from some other hand than Juvigny's, whose powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his pocket, told me, that by reading it I might possibly help him to find out the author, whose name he would be glad to know. I received it from his majesty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his presence. The reader, if he pleases, may here see the substance of it, for it is not my intention to conceal any part of it.

The author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had ever more need of such a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himself of all suspicion of envy or prejudice: the great qualities of Henry, the happiness which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous situation of his affairs, made a second preamble very proper to captivate the good will of this prince, and still more to lead naturally to the accusation the writer was to make against me, of having insolently

* This book was intituled, A political discourse, shewing the King, in what respects his majesty is ill served. "It was privately handed about "at Paris," says l'Etoile, "in manuscript. The style of it was somewhat "free and bold for those times, when all truths were not allowed to be "spoke; it nevertheless did not contain any thing against the king or his "service, but many things against M. de Rosny."

boasted, that this happiness was my sole work; and from thence, with great art, he introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in designs pernicious to the sovereign and the state. A crowd of examples, eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

From thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticise my manners; and, in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house, he found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs; and added, that the number of persons, from the princes of the blood, down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which, by this studied civility, I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partizans, which could not indeed but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon, was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour, which in France it is the custom to treat every one with: the prince of Conti and the duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list, then the whole family of Lorrain; several French lords came next: my reconciliation with the duke d'Epernon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of an union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazon de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint-Geran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubeterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons whom I attached to my interest by the distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made

amongst them of part of his majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others.

All this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expression which fell from the king of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, *That the king of France was happy in having me*, and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majesty, but likewise the States-general of the United Provinces, the dukes of Wirtemberg, and Deux-Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the marquises of Anspach, Dourlach, and Baden were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me, was construed into a criminal intrigue. All the Protestant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetic senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests.

After having thus made the first essay, with accusations which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more bold, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondences in foreign countries alone; but by sending his majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Switzerland, I was laying up for myself immense sums, in order, one day to retire to one or other of those places, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiss,

German horse, and lansquenets, to support the Protestant religion, and, after the example of admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubtless was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularized this event as if he were already a witness of it; he alleged, that by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores for his majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest Protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the king to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majesty, to confide no longer to one person the management of his revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs; but to associate with me some persons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

While I was reading this memorial Henry observed me with great attention; but finding that I read it as I would have done any indifferent paper, in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, what do you think of it?" said he. "What is your opinion of it, sire?" replied I, "you "who have read it more than once, and kept it so long "in your hands; for my part, I am not so much sur- "prised at these sort of writings, which, in effect, are "nothing but the trifling production of foolish and wick- "ed men, as to find that so great a king, possessed of

"so much wisdom, courage, and goodness, and who "has known me for so many years, would have pa- "tience to read them himself, and hear me read them "throughout in his presence, without at least showing, "by his anger, the violence he did himself in listening "to such calumnies, and without ordering the authors "to be sought for, to punish them severely."

After having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments towards me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I opposed those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for those princes who would be good and great, to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and of ungrateful favourites, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had laboured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I defied them to produce a single person, whether a friend or kinsman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his majesty. Against the traitorous designs they imputed to me, of fomenting the

civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given, on every occasion, to the ill designs of the Protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

Besides, what advantage could I promise myself from these chimerical schemes, which I did not at present possess in the highest and most honourable station to which any subject could aspire? what could be my aim? To place the crown upon my own head? my enemies themselves did not accuse me of such a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family? although it were in my power to dispose of it, on whom could I fix my choice, but on the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, consecrated all my labours and my services, and for whose interest I had shed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they insinuated, did I still bend my whole cares to the increase of his glory, by those noble designs which, if I did not suggest, I was at least the sole confidant and promoter of? if I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his person, why did I so earnestly seek to engage him in all those alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? was not this acting directly against myself? is it by pursuing such measures as these, that ambitious and designing subjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the state? was it not rather by enervating the mind of their master, soothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his passions, prevailing on him to violate the laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of

the state into confusion? whereas I was continually laying before his majesty the state of his affairs, informing him of the use and destination of his money, and carrying my solicitude for order and economy so far, as to reproach him with even the smallest needless expense: I amassed him treasure, filled his magazines and arsenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himself formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious subjects act, when they secretly undermine the foundations of their sovereign's power. The conduct of ministers is always equivocal in some part or other; however, I may truly say, that mine might stand the test of the strictest examination.

It was easy for me to perceive that his majesty felt all the force of these arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the most fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed from him nor disguised any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed these assurances by the most sacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered rashly; I addressed him by all those revered and tender epithets which had, at all times, been the expressions of my zeal and attachment to his person. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not suffer it, lest those who beheld this posture might imagine I had recourse to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my fidelity, that he sincerely repented of his too easy belief, and that he would never remember what was passed, but to impress upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the result of a conference, which had been so necessary to restore quiet to us both.

Those who have any knowledge of a court, may easily guess the emotions that agitated the hearts of the

courtiers, during a conversation which lasted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were observed; for though it was not possible for them to hear what we said, yet they could not be ignorant of the subject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had used at the beginning of our conversation, the papers he had taken with him, the earnest manner in which we seemed to discourse, was sufficient to inform them of the rest; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the result of so important an explanation between us.

Henry was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out to the grove of mulberry trees, holding me by the hand, and asked the crowd of courtiers who had got together, what hour it was; they answered it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have," said the prince, in an accent which spread a paleness on every cheek; "but there are some present who are more weary than "I am: however, to console them, I here declare be- "fore you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than ever, "and that our friendship will continue till death; and "you, my friend," pursued he, turning to me, "go home "to dinner, and love me and serve me, for I am fully "satisfied with you." Many others, in the same situation I was, would have made use of their returning favour and interest, to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace;* but, I

* The sieur de Juvigny or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the abovementioned memorial, suffered for all the rest: a prosecution was car-

thank Heaven, I cannot reproach myself with having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the king said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

That I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the king, concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Crequy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguieres, his majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase.* This drew many acknowledgments to me from the father-in-law and the son. Crequy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lesdiguieres wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me, made

ried on against him for high treason, and he was found guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated; but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

* Henry IV, though extremely dissatisfied with the duke d'Epernon, who had retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice he pretended the king had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Crequy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The duke d'Epernon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. History of the duke d'Epernon, p. 112.

every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or from whom I received so many bad offices, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongst courtiers.

The heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope that supported my enemies, amidst the mortifications and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret I say it) were almost as successful as before:* the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, because it was sooner followed by an explanation, and it is need-

* "The king," says le Grain, b. vii. "advanced the duke of Sully in "such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient authority over him; "and who knows but it might perhaps be a prudential measure in the king, "thus to expose him to the hatred of many, against whom he was very able "to protect him, in order to keep him under apprehensions of what might "be the effects of his failing in his duty." This passage in our Memoirs seems, at first sight, to offer something in favour of this conjecture: the opinion of those, nevertheless, who think there was no artifice in the suspicions Henry IV conceived against the duke of Sully, appears to me better founded; but whether his suspicions were feigned or real, I also think, as many other persons of sense do, that they ought to be reckoned among that prince's defects. According to the first supposition, a low cunning, unbecoming the character of so great a king, is apparent; and according to the second, a piece of injustice, for which the first movements of a hasty passion would be no excuse, there being a kind of agreement between this prince and his minister, that the first should overlook, in the character of the other, that firmness and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a base submission and flattery, in consideration of a fidelity established on such numberless proofs. This is a sufficient evidence, that the performance of the most important services will not dispense a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the most perfect.

less to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleasure of believing, that I should sink under their efforts, yet they were soon undeceived, and those ineffectual attempts but increased their shame and rage; and had I been of a disposition to enjoy such victories, this last, being not less complete than the other, would have afforded me sufficient matter for triumph: it was likewise at Fontainebleau, that the king and I came to an explanation of this second difference; and the morning afterwards the king sent for me very early. As soon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a cross-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having somewhat to impart to me in private; but as we passed, he said aloud, in the presence of the whole court, "You can-"not conceive, my friend, how easily and happily I "slept last night, after having opened my heart to you, "and had all my doubts cleared up." He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

In the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me, was, that however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes, by their insinuations, make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter,*

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645, set up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her son by the duke of Rohan, who died seven years before. "Many persons of credit," says Amelot, "who have seen Tancred (the name of this pretended heir to the

amidst those very storms I have mentioned. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me to reject the duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my daughter had been proposed by the princess Catherine to the dutchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewise, because monsieur and madam de Fervaques had so earnestly solicited his interest in favour of Laval, that he had promised them to give him to me for a son-in-law, rather than the duke of Rohan, who was not so rich indeed, but had the honour to be so nearly related to him, that, if he had died without children, as the princess his sister had done, the duke of Rohan would have succeeded to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other estates of the families of Albret, Foix, and Armagnac: he then added, that, for other reasons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I should break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could.

"house of Rohan) have assured me, that he had the topping of the Rohan "family, which is a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features "of his face were remarkably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended, that the duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Signior for this child: it was also said, that his father and mother had kept him concealed, only that they might marry their daughter to the count of Soissons, and afterwards the duke of Weimar. See these curious fables in Amelot de la Houssaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chypre.

Having already prepared them for this change of my resolution, he desired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in such a manner, that the breaking off the match should appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to say they had refused an alliance with me. He added, that he would himself bring the duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the dutchess his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my son-in-law within three days, having already settled every thing himself relating to the marriage; that he would have the contract drawn up in his presence, and would sign it as the kinsman of both parties.

I thanked his majesty for the interest he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thousand crowns for the wedding clothes and expenses, and the like sum to my daughter. The year before, I had married mademoiselle du Marais, my wife's daughter by her first husband, to la Boulaye, the son of him whom Henry had loved so much: she had no reason to expect any other gratuity from his majesty, than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the name of a present for the nuptial robe, and had been settled at two thousand crowns; the king raised it to five thousand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account.

It was usual with his majesty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expenses in fortifications and buildings, to say to me, in the presence of the officers em-

ployed in those works, who attended to know his pleasure concerning farther improvements in them, "Well, "you see my fortifications and buildings are resolved "upon, what have you done to your houses?" To which, when I replied, as I seldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money; he would answer, "Well, show me your plans, that I may know "what you would do if you had money." And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be necessary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thousand livres to enable me to make those alterations he pointed out to me.

However, I sometimes requested favours of him which he refused to grant, and I shall not have the vanity to conceal it: he would not give the post which had formerly been the baron de Lux's to my brother, or to la Curée, for both of whom I requested it; telling me, that for Bethune he designed a post in Brittany which would suit him better; and that as for la Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the post of lieutenant of a company of light horse, and the government of Chinon, which he already possessed. The truth was, he chose to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater service in the province. I asked the other favours of him in the same letter, the one for my nephew de Melun, and the other for la Boulaye: he told me, that la Boulaye had not yet, by his services, merited such an instance of his bounty, but he granted the other, which was the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refusal from him, if it may be called so, in which my son-in-law, the duke of Rohan, was concerned: the occasion of it was this:

The duke of Rohan was governor of Saint-Jean d'Angely, of which place Des-Ageaux was the king's lieutenant: it was not the governor, to whom in justice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his majesty, who thought it necessary, for the good of his service, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troublesome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in some degree be independent of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he should not use it to the king's satisfaction, and for the advantage of the state. The lieutenant, therefore, was, in reality, possessed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The duke of Rohan, who earnestly wished to have this prerogative restored to the governor, intreated me to solicit the king for that purpose; a favourable opportunity offering itself by the sickness of Des-Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. Whatever inclination I had to do my son-in-law this service, I durst not make the proposal to the king directly, the request having too much conformity with that state of dependence, into which my enemies had insinuated I sought to place all the Protestant* cities: nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his suspicions. I resolved therefore to sound him first upon the subject, which I did very artfully, taking

* It is said in the Hist. de la Mere et du Fils, vol. i. p. 15, that Henry IV refused the duke of Sully the government of Saint Maixant, which the queen herself, at the duke's request, desired of the king for him, saying, prudence would not permit the making a Calvinist master of that place, small as it was. If any thing could make one doubt of the truth of this fact, besides M. de Sully's silence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province must be sufficient.

occasion, upon the news of Des-Ageaux's sickness, to ask his majesty whom he had thought of to supply his place if he died: it was by letters that I made this attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majesty's answer. The king, in his answer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint-Jean, because it would not always be the duke of Rohan, nor my son-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Pousou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des-Ageaux recovering from his sickness, no farther steps were taken in the affair.

Before I quit this article of marriage, I shall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to mademoiselle de Melun, my niece, whom they thought likewise of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the marchioness de Roubais my aunt having made her her sole heir.

The family of d'Estrées cast their eyes on her for a wife to de Cœuvres;* they thought themselves sure of the king's interest; and the affair was proposed to him by M. de Vendome himself, to whom the king promised that he would speak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvre-en-Parisis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms, which showed how earnestly he desired the marriage might be concluded.

I wrote to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemings; but the answer they gave me being such as I neither ought nor could repeat to my sovereign, I sent

* Francis Hannibal d'Estrées, marquis de Cœuvres, duke and peer and marshal of France.

him none at all; and when, at his return, he asked me the reason, I only told him, that mademoiselle de Melun's relations did not approve of the proposed alliance. The king supposing that it was myself who answered for them, and that I had not wrote to them about the affair, I was obliged to show him the letters I had received from the marchioness de Roubais, the prince and princess de Ligne, the princess d'Epinoy, the countess de Barlemont, and the counts de Fontenay, and de Buquoy, who had all written to me upon the same subject. Henry, finding in these letters what I would not tell him, that notwithstanding the honours he had conferred on the house of d'Estrées, they thought it beneath their alliance, "I see," said this prince with some resentment, "that since we have to do with all "these proud Flemish fools, we must think no more of "it." Accordingly the affair went no farther, his majesty being resolved not to meddle in it any more.

BOOK XXI.

1605.

1. Details of the finances and of government. Reflections of the author upon the *taille, gabelle,* &c. Debts of France discharged. Flourishing state of the kingdom. Henry the Fourth's application to state affairs: his letters to Rosny.—II. Death of Clement VII. Leo XI owes his exaltation to the protection of Henry: his death. Pope Paul V. Panegyric of the embassy of the count of Bethune. Brief of Paul V to Rosny: the esteem in which this minister is held at Rome.—III. Farther affairs of Spain, Flanders, and England; the kings of France and England dissatisfied with Spain. Affairs of the Protestants: informations given to Henry of their bad designs; Rosny's opinion of the present state of that body. Indisposition of Henry. Assembly of the Protestants at Châtellerault: the views of Henry and the Huguenots in calling this assembly.—IV. Rosny sent thither on the part of the king: his public and private instructions: his conversation with queen Margaret. Intrigues of the duke of Bouillon and his party against Rosny: his wise conduct in the assembly: his bold speech at the opening of it: he refuses to be president of the assembly

I. THE uneasiness I suffered from the king's relapse into doubts and suspicions of my conduct, encroached upon part of that time I used to devote entirely to the administration of the finances; but it never lessened my attention to the duties of my several employments. I laboured this year to prove the alienations and usurpations that had been made upon the crown lands, and to clear exactly all the pensions upon the *tailles, gabelles, decimes, aides,* and other parts of the revenue; as well as all the debts contracted either by the king, or by the cities, counties, and communities. Upon calculating

these sums, I found that the alienations, pensions, and debts, from the time they were first settled and contracted, to the present year, had cost the kingdom above an hundred and fifty millions.* What is still more extraordinary, is, that all this money, arising from those taxes with which the state was overburdened, and from which no perceptible advantages had been derived, had for the most part been either usurped by those persons who were at first employed in the verification of them, or divided, sold, and alienated by them to others. The king would not believe this; but I made it plain, by means of two papers I had just recovered: the first was a list of those persons who had been concerned in the farm of the salt, during the lease of Champigny and Noël de Here: the number amounted to twenty, from Paris, the court, and even the council, and each had from fifty thousand livres to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns a-piece, the whole amounting to nine millions seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand livres: the other paper, dated October 27, 1585, was an agreement between the superintendant d'O and those who farmed the salt, for a fifth part: d'O prevailed upon Antony Faschon, a notary, to be security for the whole sum to the farmers beforementioned.

* "Nothing less than the invincible courage of the duke of Sully was "sufficient to retrieve the disorders of the revenue, by disincumbering the "mortgaged crown lands from a charge of an hundred millions, by paying "off some, and lessening others of the debts of the crown, &c. He always "seconded the king in the glorious designs of easing his people." Political Essay on Commerce, ch. 19. M. Claudius de l'Isle speaks of him in the same manner, and with the greatest encomiums in the Abridgment of his Universal History, vol. V. p. 501.

By the same practices his majesty was defrauded of almost all the revenue arising from the *aides* and *parties casuelles*. Gondy had prevailed with d'Incarville, and the other members of the council with whom he shared, to have that money assigned to him, for the payment of some debts which he pretended were due to him from the king. Difficult as it was to find out these frauds and connivances, I made such strict inquiries, that I discovered three millions that were to come to the treasury. As it was merely with a view to relieve the people, that I thus from time to time stripped the usurpers of money that did not belong to them, in proportion to my discoveries, I made very considerable abatements, in the king's name, upon the *taille*, that perpetual source of abuses and vexations of all kinds, as well in the assessment as collection: it is greatly to be wished, though hardly to be hoped for, that one day or other the fund of this part of the king's revenue may be wholly changed.*

* These abuses and vexations are so flagrant and apparent, that our kings and their ministers have frequently attempted to find some remedy for them, by entirely changing the form of this branch of the revenue of France; but the difficulties the author speaks of have always intervened, and rendered their endeavours fruitless. However, one attempt has been made in our days, which seemed to promise a more happy success, though hitherto its progress has not been very rapid: I will take the liberty of explaining the nature of it here.

An unhappy prejudice prevails in this kingdom, and I believe in all monarchical governments, which we cannot be too solicitous to destroy, the minds of the people being thereby kept in a perpetual state of distrust every thing undertaken by their sovereign. From this diffidence alone t part of the same mischievous effects arise, which an absolute disence could produce. The prejudice I mean is, that the good of the le is never the motive of the actions of kings; but that, on the conry, no changes are made in their situation, but such as tend to render more miserable.

impossible but so considerable a change as is proposed to be made

I place the gabelle after the *taille*. I never thought any thing more capricious and tyrannical, than to oblige

in the *taille*, must, from its own nature, be subject to great difficulties. Now, I apprehend it will not be sufficient that these difficulties have been overcome in the minds of the few who have formed and perfected this scheme, but they must also be cleared up to those whom it is necessary to employ in the execution of it; for the manner of executing a work of this nature is in no degree analogous to that in which a building may be erected: the latter being effected by the mere mechanical co-operation of the hands of the workmen, with the design of the architect: whereas, to carry on and complete the former, it is absolutely necessary that the nature of it should be as clearly conceived by those who are to put it in execution, as by those who formed the plan. But two things stand in opposition to this, which it will become necessary to remove, the one by the means of information, the other by punishment; these are, the want of knowledge, and the want of diligence in the inferior officers; the latter making them disobey the orders of their superiors, and the former, though their intention be ever so good, occasioning them to execute every thing wrong.

This reason alone would be sufficient to prove that what relates to the general receipt of the *taille proportionelle*, ought not to be intrusted to the assessors and other officers of the intendants of the finances; I dare not say, to the intendants themselves, and those acting in immediate subordination to them, who are generally taken by them at random, out of the officers of the police, or the revenue; and who having other business of their own, cannot spare the time necessary for the other: but as artificers are sent for from the metropolis, when any work is to be performed exceeding the capacity of common workmen; so the council ought to choose and appoint, for the management of the general receipts, commissioners of integrity and capacity, sufficiently authorised, and perfectly instructed in the nature of their business, and who should be allowed all the time and expenses that are requisite. If they be too much hurried, part of the remarks necessary for them to make on the different particulars of the business of the provinces will escape their observation: and if their salaries be ill paid, or be not received by them without difficulties, necessity may induce them to betray their trust. This important work certainly demands all possible attention.

"When one considers how powerful an influence the bonds of parent friendship, society, or even mere neighbourhood, have on mankind strongly they are affected by different interests, as well personal as the fear of displeasing, the desire of obliging, the ambition of being cured and caressed by their countrymen, the dependance on a sup

a private man to buy up more salt than he is willing or able to use, and then hinder him from selling the overplus. I once expressed my sentiments of this practice freely to the king, who desired me to give him a circumstantial memorial upon it: as, for example, the prime cost of the salt at the salt-pits, of the expenses till it was sold, of its distribution into granaries, and other questions relating to it: his majesty did not tell me what

who, according to his caprice, can make his dependant sensible of his superiority, by depriving him of his office, or by unjust reprimands; and the innumerable other motives which tie up a man's hands in the midst of his family and countrymen; a thousand reasons will appear against employing the ordinary officers in the business of the new *taille*. This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of several persons, who, having with great application considered what were the designs of the council in constituting this kind of operation, and afterwards kept a watchful eye on the manner in which it daily appears to be executed by the officers in their several districts, have with great concern found, that, out of fifty of these officers, there is perhaps not one whose manner of executing his business does not render the new method more odious than the old.

These motives and these difficulties, a perfect knowledge of M. de Vauban's plan, the small difficulty there was in establishing it when trial was made of it, the happiness these few parishes still continue to enjoy, which have found means of preserving it amongst them, the experience every day furnishes that the *dixieme* (which in its own nature is but a species of the *dixme*) has every possible advantage over the *taille* and other impositions; all these, I say, must convince every judicious man, that it will be found absolutely necessary to recur to the establishment of the *royal dixme*, as being of all the methods the most simple, the least expensive, and the least burdensome to the people: and that when it was proposed by this able and virtuous patriot, it was not received with all the regard it merited. The maxim, that enabling the people to live at their ease will endanger their revolting, is as false as it is cruel. It is also most certainly the interest of the people, if well understood, that the king should be perfectly acquainted with the true value of what they possess, and consequently the real strength of his kingdom; that without regard to exemptions or any unjust privileges, all his majesty's subjects should be equally taxed; and that commerce and industry should meet with all possible encouragement. As to any further reflections which may be made on this matter, we will refer to that excellent work itself, composed by M. Vauban, and intituled, *Dixme Royale, &c.*

use he intended to make of this memoir. I drew it up with the utmost expedition, and as near the truth as I was able; for, on account of the reasons I there gave, it was hardly possible to fix the true value of things. However, this memorial produced no consequences, every thing remained in the same state as before; which shows how difficult it is to reform abuses which the ignorance, precipitancy, and short-sightedness of those ancients who are proposed to us as infallible guides, have introduced into the first regulations, even when other imposts, far more reasonable, such as the tithes and entries, seem both to point out the way, and make it easy.*

The debts contracted by the provinces, town-houses, and corporations, were not less troublesome to the king than his own: I was continually soliciting him to call on me to review and settle them, in the same manner

* It is well known what is the net produce to the king of the gabelle or salt duty, after all expenses are paid; and it is not, consequently, difficult to discover to what those expenses amount on each minot of salt. Why should not the king at once take the price of each minot of salt on the first sale, and at the salt-pits themselves? Why should not the same be done in the case of the aids? This question, simple as it is, has been asked long ago. The cardinal de Richelieu, in this respect, following the opinion of his predecessor in the ministry, Test. Politique, part II. chap. ix. § 7. Perefixe, the author of the Essay on Commerce, ch. v. and many other able politicians after him, unanimously pronounce sentence against an impost like this, not only burthensome from the manner in which it is levied, but becoming still more unjust, from the unequal manner in which it is assessed. It is true, they perceive great difficulties in altering it; but this alteration being once made, one of the principal sources of the ease, and at the same time of the opulence of the nation, would be opened thereby. The cardinal de Richelieu, who thus speaks of it, adds, that he had found, from the most knowing amongst the superintendants of the finances, that the produce of the duty on salt, if levied at the pits, would be equal to what the king of Spain receives from the Indies. See also on this subject the Dîme Royale of M. de Vauban.

as I had done the others; I prevailed at last, and his majesty left me the choice of what measures I thought most likely to attain this end. The commissioners I named for this purpose were selected from among those persons whom I knew to be most faithful, and capable of the greatest application to business, in the sovereign courts, among the masters of requests, the treasurers of France, and other officers; but as this work could not go on so expeditiously as the former, I shall defer giving an account of it till I come to relate the effects it produced.

And here a reflection occurs to me, not more common than just, which is, that regularity and economy must certainly have infinite resources; for notwithstanding the ordinary expenses of the state, and the extraordinary ones his majesty was at in his kingdom; notwithstanding that three or four millions were sent every year out of the kingdom to be distributed in foreign countries; notwithstanding the ruinous and exhausted condition in which the king, at his accession to the throne, found France, his finances, and his treasury, and many more difficulties almost insurmountable; yet the government had already an appearance of opulence and strength, which banished all remembrance of its former indigence. Could it have been possible for any person to imagine, ten years before, that in 1605 the king would find himself as rich as he really was, if they reflected, that the sums which were demanded of him when he was acknowledged peaceable possessor of the crown, and those that were owing from his exchequer, with all the interest and arrears, did not amount to less than three hundred and thirty millions: and that all which could be paid of this enormous sum, such as the

more debts, should really be done, and such measures taken with regard to the pensions and assignments, that they should be regularly paid, without exhausting the treasury, or incurring the least inconvenience? Yet all this was actually effected. And probably the reader has not yet found any thing in these Memoirs, so interesting as the following account in gross, of the particular sums which made up the whole.

There was due to queen Elizabeth at the time of her demise, for ready money lent to Henry in his necessities, advanced by her to the German troops and army sent into Brittany, as well as for all the other sums, to which the maintenance of those supplies that Henry was furnished with by the English, amounted, consisting of men, vessels, and provisions, for the siege of Dieppe, and that of Rouen, and during the war with the league, the sum of seven millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres: To the Swiss Cantons, for their services and their pensions, comprehending the interest due upon them, thirty-five millions eight hundred and twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven livres and six sols: To the States-General, for money lent for pay, due to their troops, and for furnishing vessels, powder, provision, ammunition, &c. during the league likewise, nine millions two hundred and seventy-five thousand four hundred livres: To several French noblemen, colonels, and other officers, for service, pay, pensions, salaries, &c. during the civil wars; six millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres: To the farmers of every part of the revenue: to princes, cities, corporations, and private persons, comprehending the salaries, appointments, and pensions of the officers of

the king's household, of the police, and the finances, and the civil magistrates, by settled accounts, twenty-eight millions four hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and sixty livres: To several private persons, according to their bills, rescriptions, receipts of the treasury, warrants, acquittals, patents, &c. almost all in the reign of Henry III, twelve millions two hundred and thirty-six thousand livres: Mortgages of the crown lands, compositions of pensions, where the principal being exorbitant was moderated by the creditors themselves, or deducted by his majesty, one hundred and fifty millions: Treaties made at the abolition of the league, which have been calculated already, thirty-three millions one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres.*

It is certain, as I have already observed, that upon the examination of these different demands upon the exchequer, many that were found to be unjust were totally annulled; others were compounded for with the creditors, and others were got clear of by several expedients, such as those upon the taxes, and the crown lands; but it may be easily imagined, that there remained a very considerable number of debts to be discharged: and here I must anticipate my story, for the sake of observing that good examples are not always efficacious. After Henry's death, those who were placed at the head of affairs, began their administration by destroying part of that economy, and abolishing many of those regulations, which he had established; this conduct, while it were an appearance (and only an

* There is a miscomputation of about a million, in the old Memoirs, as well in the account of the contracts of the league, as in the sum total; but this is of small moment.

appearance) of lenity and compassion, gave me reason to apprehend that under the new reign, the national debt would be increased rather than lessened. But to quit this subject for the present, I shall content myself with barely mentioning here, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France; both foreign and domestic payments were regularly made, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either from those payments, or the expenses of the current year, though the king still continued to lay out very large sums in rebuilding, furnishing, and adorning his palaces; repairing the old fortifications, and raising new ones; erecting public buildings;* re-edifying churches, hospitals, and convents;

* Henry the Great caused the chapel of Fontainebleau to be painted and gilt, cut avenues through the forest, and in many other respects decorated his royal palace: he finished the Pont-neuf, built the square and street Dauphin, repaired many streets in Paris, built wharfs, &c. Besides what is said in these Memoirs, see the detail of all these buildings, in the Mercure François, anno 1610, p. 404, le Grain's Decade, b. viii. Morizot, chap. 46, and others who have written descriptions, or the history of the antiquities of Paris, &c. No one is ignorant that this great prince, through the representations of the duke of Sully, repaired the highways in almost every quarter of the kingdom, built many causeways and bridges in places before impassable, especially in Berry, which might vie, in point of beauty with the works of the Romans; but which, for want of being kept in order for a hundred and thirty years past, are at present in a very indifferent state: that, by his order, elms and other trees were planted along the sides of these roads, some of which are still growing in different places, where they are called *Rosnys:* there are many ordinances made by the king on this subject, and some others, by which the converting arable land into pasture is forbidden, and vineyards are ordered to be stubbed up. These buildings and works, and this application to render his kingdom flourishing, contributed, perhaps as much as his military exploits, to procure Henry IV the title of Great, which was conferred on him in his lifetime, and, as it appears, about the year 1602.

in funds for repairing pavements, moles, and bridges; in building a great number of gallies upon the Mediterranean; in filling his magazines and arsenals; redeeming the jewels of the crown, and purchasing more; and after all this, there still remained, at the end of the year, a considerable sum to deposit in the bastile.*

But what is still more valuable than all these treasures, Henry acquired them not only without increasing the people's poverty, but even lightened the weight of their former burden, as has been shewn in these Memoirs. He always regretted that the present situation of affairs would not permit him to carry this tenderness for his subjects farther; if the enemies of his government will not confess this truth, if in their writings they have asserted the contrary, yet it is absolutely certain, that plenty and affluence began now to be felt over the whole kingdom; the nobility and soldiery were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security;† the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman rejoiced in his profits; and the nobleman himself improved his estates. Some examples of severity,

* The share the duke of Sully had in all these things, gave him a just claim to the following singular eulogium in the Mercure François, anno 1606, p. 101. "As he executed these offices and employments in a "manner more for the benefit and emolument of the crown of France "than any of his predecessors; all true Frenchmen readily acknowledged "his merit in this respect, as well in the lifetime of his majesty, as since "his death: and though he could not escape the calumny of those who "envied him, it must, nevertheless be allowed, that he was the Joseph "both of our king and of France."

† The affection this good prince bore to his people, appears from this saying of his, which has been preserved as a kind of tradition, that he would make the poorest peasant in his dominions able to eat flesh all the week long, and to put a fowl in his pot besides on Sundays.

which his majesty had been obliged to make, were so far from disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, that it was never more fully established, nor never more sincerely enjoyed; the licentiousness which had been corrected in the army, procured the people a real advantage, without doing any prejudice to the officer and soldier, who were paid with the utmost exactness, rewarded in proportion to their services, and esteemed, honoured, and caressed, as their merits and valour deserved. The medals which I presented as usual to his majesty, represented a lily shooting out a bud on each side, pointing to two stars which represented the polar stars, with these words, *Hi fines.* It is by actions like these, that a king may aspire to the glory of having accomplished this motto.

I shall not repeat here what I have said before, concerning the letters I received from Henry; I had so many this year, and on all sorts of subjects, the finances, trade, politics, that I shall not attempt to produce them: several of them contained orders for presents to different persons; thirty thousand livres to the queen for her new year's gift; nine thousand livres to the countess of Moret;* fifteen hundred livres to the queen's bed-

* Jacqueline du Beuil. The king, towards the end of the preceding year, had created her countess of Moret, she having revived the passion of love in his heart, which had, in a manner, died with his marchioness: he had also married her to a gentleman called Chanvalon. In l'Etoile's Journal (an. 1604) there are some anecdotes relating to this matter, but they are too licentious for us to repeat. Mademoiselle du Beuil or de Beuil, is represented in the writings of that time, as a lady who was not on an equal footing with Mademoiselle d'Entragues in point of beauty, but in recompense for this defect, her look expressed genius and penetration, her temper was extremely gay, and her conversation full of sprightliness, which qualification Henry IV greatly ad-

chamber women: and a like sum to be distributed by madam de Montglat, among the nurses of the king's children upon different occasions; four thousand to the family of the commandeur de Chastes; twelve hundred livres to Praslin; a like sum to Merens; three thousand livres to the count de Saint-Aignan, to indemnify him for the money he had expended on his father-in-law Montigny's company; two thousand four hundred livres to several pensioners in Burgundy, paid them by Hector le-Breton, his commissioner in that province; a pension of four thousand livres, to Lognac,* a Protestant captain, in reward for his services; forty thousand livres, which his majesty thought a just restitution to Villars, saying, that this family had lost above six thousand livres of interest, since this sum became due to them; five hundred livres to the duke of Ventadour, who had advanced them for small expenses, to shew, said Henry, that no one loses any thing by serving me; the sieur de Canisy received a like reimbursement; seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty-eight livres to la Livre, his apothecary: his majesty had been indebted to this man, ever since the year 1592, and was partly the cause of his ruin; for his creditors arrested him, and threw him into prison, but the king indemnified him for all; nine thousand five hundred and

mired. The queen did not appear to take the same umbrage at this lady, or to have that aversion to her, as she shewed against the marchioness de Verneuil.

* This is not the person whom Henry III employed to stab the duke of Guise, at the holding of the states at Blois. Having requested that prince to bestow a government on him as a recompense for the service he had done him, and his request being refused, he retired in discontent to Guienne, where very soon after he was shot by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, with whom he had a quarrel. Cayet's Chronol. Novenn. vol. I. b. i. p. 133.

forty-one livres to John Sellier, a merchant of the city of Troyes, who made this demand upon his majesty for a certain public building.

In this summary of expenses, I do not include the hundred and fifty thousand livres given to the count of Soissons, of the edict *des greffes*,* and of another edict, creating a small tax upon salt in favour of the duke of Maïenne, nor of many other gratuities and just payments; Zamet obtained of his majesty the two offices of receivers at Rouen for two thousand crowns each; Henry caused the forest of l'Aigle to be divided, by law, between him and the constable; but to prevent any dispute, he purchased the other part, and settled himself the time for cutting down the trees; he referred to his council, the offer that had been made him of twelve hundred thousand livres for the grant of an edict concerning the four deniers; he sent Nargonne, with his company, to guard the tower of Bouc, which he thought a place of great importance: but the duke of Mercœur, to whom this fortress belonged, raised some difficulties, which determined his majesty to treat with him for it, either by way of exchange, or by purchasing it.

Great part of the letters I received from this prince, turned upon his buildings, those of his new silk manufactures† especially, which he still carried on with the

* The *Greffe* was the office in which the registers of the parliament were kept, and from whence were issued the sentences and arrêts.

† It appears also from the writings of that time, that a manufacturer of Provence called Serran, attempted to make stuffs of the finest parts of the bark of mulberry-trees; that the making of glass, looking-glass plates, and exact imitations of pearls, and many other manufactures, which the celebrated M. Colbert has since carried to so great perfection, were then set on foot.

same ardour; his green-house in the Tuilleries was the place he set apart for breeding the silk-worms, the eggs having been sent him from Spain, and he hastened the building of it for that purpose. I laid, by his order, the foundations of the new edifices for his tapestry weavers, in the Horse-market, which, requiring a larger extent of ground than could be procured, without encroaching a little upon a garden belonging to Montmagny, who opposed it strongly, the king ordered that he should be paid the sum he demanded for his ground, representing to him, however, that when the public utility was in question, an individual ought, on such occasions, to wave the consideration of his own particular interest. His majesty sent for Comans and la Planche, from other countries, and gave them the care and superintendance of these manufactures: it was not long before the new directors made complaints, and disliked their situation, either because they did not find the profits equal to their hopes and expectations, or, that having advanced considerable sums themselves, they saw no great probability of getting them in again. The king got rid of their importunity by referring them to me, commanding me to act in such a manner towards them that they should suffer no loss, but likewise that their gains should not be too considerable.

The attention of this prince in conciliating the good will of the neighbouring powers who might possibly engage in his great designs, appeared likewise in his letters, as well as in his whole conduct. Whether we consider his extreme solicitude to fulfil all the laws of civility, and all the forms of ceremony, the obliging manner in which he treated their ambassadors and en-

voys, the seasonable presents he made them, or what is a benefit still more considerable, the care he took to reconcile them among themselves, by determining their differences; and thus beginning, with respect to them, to exercise the office of the arbitrator of Europe. His majesty sent me a letter of compliment unsealed, which he thought himself obliged to write to the dutchess des Deux-Ponts, commanding me to send it to her by one of my gentlemen, and with it a present of twelve or fifteen hundred crowns, at least; a favour which that princess acknowledged with great gratitude and respect, in the letter she wrote to him in return. The duke of Bar having consulted Henry about his designed marriage with the princess of Mantua, which had been kept a secret a long time, his majesty took upon himself to give the duke of Mantua notice of it, and dispatched immediately a courier extraordinary to that court; though upon this article he carried his economy so far, as to reproach his ambassador at Rome for sending him couriers too frequently, and wrote to him to do so no more. The Venetian ambassador took leave of his majesty in November, and received from my hands a very considerable present: I likewise gave another to his secretary; nor did Guinterot, the duke of Holstein's ambassador, return less satisfied to his master; I shewed him the arsenal, and all the king's magazines; and that he might have a token to remember them by, I gave him, by his majesty's orders, one of his finest suits of armour to present to his master.

II. CLEMENT the eighth, died on the third or fourth of March, this year.* The news of his death was

* L'Etoile, who cannot be suspected of partiality when he speaks well of the pope and the Catholics, confirms whatever M. de Sully has said in

brought to France by a courier, whom my brother dispatched to the king then at Chantilly, and by letters from the French cardinals whom Henry had sent to Rome the year before, and who were followed by cardinal du Perron, the end of the same year.

There having always been a great intimacy between this cardinal and myself, we corresponded by letters regularly, during the whole time that he continued on the other side of the Alps: he gave me notice of his arrival at Rome, in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1604, and wrote to me another the 6th of February following. If he is to be believed, I had gained the friendship of the whole Roman consistory, who could not help praising my conduct towards the clergy, and in every thing that concerned the affairs of the church. In cardinal Bufalo particularly, ever since

different parts of these memoirs in praise of Clement VIII. "A pacific "pope," says he, "and a good Frenchman: even the Protestants did not "hate him, he having always treated them with great gentleness, beyond "any of his predecessors, even so far as to grant them passports to go and "come freely to and from Rome, which was never done before by any "pope. When he died, and long before his death, he was nothing but a "mass of corruption, having totally lost the use both of his limbs and un-"derstanding; even his hands being putrified and burst, insomuch that "when any one came to kiss his feet, which, as well as the rest of his body, "were very fœtid, they were obliged to hold up his hands, to enable him "to give the benediction." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

Matthieu speaks of him with the highest praise, vol. II. b. iii. p. 328. and book iii. p. 696, as all the rest of our best writers also do, who find no fault with him, but for his being a little too much attached to his family. It was said of him, "Clement VIII was a good man, a good "prelate, and a good prince;" in opposition to his three predecessors, Pius V, Sixtus V, and Gregory XIII, the first of whom was said to be only a good prelate, the second only a good prince, and the third a good prelate and a good prince. La Houssaye, note 3, on the 311th of Cardinal d'Ossat's letters.

the treaty we had managed together, I had a zealous panegyrist at Rome; after his departure from Paris, I had written him a long letter, which he shewed to every body, as valuing himself upon the sentiments he knew I entertained of him: I shall not repeat here those praises, too flattering to my vanity, with which this letter of du Perron was filled; those I have mentioned were introduced with no other design, but to shew (what I thank heaven for) that I was never tainted with that bitter furious zeal, which the difference of religion inspires. The change of mine was the subject of frequent conversations between the cardinals and du Perron, who all wished for it with equal ardour; cardinal Aldobrandini often declared that he never said mass without remembering me, the pope expressed himself almost in the same terms to du Perron, when he was conducted to audience by my brother: he had a long conversation with him concerning me, and particularly upon the means of working what (in the language of Rome,) was called my conversion: it is indeed an extraordinary thing, that a minister cannot obtain from his own countrymen the same justice, which foreigners, who surely have no less reason to hate him, are capable of rendering to the disinterestedness of his conduct, and the rectitude of his intentions. Du Perron concluded his letter with telling me, that he wished no less earnestly than the other cardinals, to see me completely united to persons who esteemed and loved me so much, since I had not (these are his words) "more "friends at Geneva than I had at Rome."

My gratitude was equally engaged by the testimony he bore in favour of my brother, assuring me, that he

had gained so strongly upon the affections of the Italians, that no Frenchman had, for an hundred years past, acquired an equal reputation in Italy:* he acknowledged himself highly obliged to my brother, for his politeness, in coming with an honourable train of the French and Roman nobility, to meet him, nine leagues from Rome.

The king had in an especial manner, recommended to the French cardinals, to pay strict attention to the interest of the nation, in the approaching election of a pope;† and this injunction was again repeated to them, when he was informed by the arrival of another courier from Rome, on the 28th of March, that, according to all appearances, there would be high debates in the conclave, on account of the great number of candidates, each of whom, indeed, was worthy of the pontificate. However, these difficulties were so soon removed, that, on Friday the 1st of April, which was two days after the arrival of this courier, the holy see was filled by the cardinal de Médicis, otherwise called the cardinal of Florence, who took the name of Leo the eleventh. The choice falling upon a man related to the queen, and of the same name with her, was a certain testimony that his most christian majesty was well served by the Italian nation.‡

* This commendation seems not at all extravagant. P. Matthieu, speaking of the services the count of Bethune did the king at Rome, calls him a man of great abilities for that court, vol. II. b. iii. p. 681. Siri every where speaks of him in the same manner.

† See the particulars of the two subsequent conclaves in Matthieu, ibid. 698, and other historians.

‡ "The making of Leo XI pope," says Du-Plessis-Mornay, spitefully, "cost the king 300,000 crowns." Life of M. Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 305.

The king, when the news came to Paris, gave public demonstrations of his joy, which he was desirous should be as general as it was sincere. He wrote to me not to spare his ordnance, and to send orders to my government, and to every other part of the kingdom, to follow the example I should set them in Paris. Messieurs the bishop and governor of Paris, the president Belliévre, and the king's counsellors of parliament, the other bishops, and all persons in a public character, received orders to have *Te Deum* sung, and fireworks played off, in every place under their jurisdiction. It may be truly said, that never had the advancement of any person to the papal dignity been celebrated with greater magnificence. However, this could not prolong for a moment the duration of the pontificate of Leo the eleventh, who lived but a few days after his election, and probably was dead at the very time when these honours were paying him in France.*

His majesty was, in some degree, comforted for the loss of this pope, by the person whom the conclave chose for his successor; this was Paul V, formerly cardinal Borghese: two things concurred to his election, which made it highly agreeable to his majesty, the favour the French nation showed him by her cardinals, and his own personal merit, which rendered him worthy of that distinction, and which they hoped to see rewarded by a happy pontificate. Two cardinals thus successively placed by his most Christian majesty on the papal throne, left Europe no room to doubt of the high esteem he was in with the Italians: the king was sensi-

* He was taken ill on 17th April, on his return from the procession to S. John de Lateran, which is made on the new pope's taking possession of his dignity, and died the 27th.

ble of it himself, and the extreme satisfaction it gave him was sufficiently seen by the orders he issued immediately after receiving the news of the new pontiff's advancement (which was on the 25th of May) to celebrate it with the same rejoicings as Leo the eleventh's had been, except only, that no fire works were played off; the reason his majesty gave for this omission, to those who might possibly be offended at it, was, that this piece of respect had been paid to the cardinal of Florence as an ally of the royal family: as to the rest, all was performed with the same splendor, and the king himself was present at the *Te Deum*, which he ordered to be sung at Fontainebleau. I received on this occasion, three letters from his majesty of the same date, which were merely ceremonial upon my different offices, and as a person in a public character; he likewise addressed to the chancellor, Sillery, and to me, a discourse, in which he gave a relation in form of what had just passed in the conclave.

Paul V did not disappoint the hopes that were conceived of his pontificate: the Roman council seemed to pursue exactly the same measures they had done under Clement VIII. Nothing was prescribed to Barberini, who was sent into France in the quality of nuncio, beyond what had been done to cardinal Bufalo; and he was ordered by cardinal Aldobrandini, and by his holiness likewise, to address himself only to me, in whatever affair he had to solicit. I know not what cardinal Bufalo (from whom this advice certainly came,) could have said to my advantage, in preference to so many other persons, who carried even to servility their respect and attachment to the holy see. My brother, in a letter he wrote to me at that time, told me, I could not too high-

ly acknowledge the obligations I was under to this cardinal, nor repay with too much warmth of friendship, the regard and esteem he expressed for me.

This letter of Bethune's is dated November 12th, for he was still at Rome, although he had depended upon returning to France immediately after the pope's installation; but some new orders which he had received detained him, and he did not return till several days after the date of this letter. His holiness so much regretted his being recalled, that he would have wrote to the king, to intreat he would continue him as ambassador at Rome, if my brother had not prevented him. He had entirely got rid of that appearance of timidity, reserve, and perhaps coolness, which he had shown at the beginning of his negociation; and as soon as he was accustomed to the business transacted at the Roman court, had changed it into a wise and prudent confidence, from whence he drew all the success he could hope for, in those affairs which were intrusted to him. The pope continued to pay him the highest honours, and gave orders that he should be received, and treated with the most distinguishing marks of respect, in all the cities of his dominions through which he passed. All this I advance with so much the more freedom and security, although upon the faith of cardinal du Perron, my friend, who thought himself obliged to write to me upon my brother's departure, as this cardinal gave the same account to the king, and represented to him that no one was better qualified than Bethune, for a place in the council for foreign affairs, in what regarded Italy, as he had a full and perfect knowledge of all that related to that country.*

* Cardinal d'Ossat himself, though, according to all appearances, far from being satisfied with M. de Sully's behaviour in regard to him, speaks

In this letter, du Perron thanked me for having supported him with his majesty, against those who had endeavoured to disappoint him in his expectations of the post of grand-almoner, which had lately been promised to him; as also for some trifling services his brother had received from me: he added an article relating to la Fin. This man, who has been mentioned in marshal Biron's trial, had, by an effect of his natural levity of temper, left France, and embraced the Protestant religion. The king, who observed him heedfully, as he did all who had once given room for suspicion, caused him to be stopped in Italy, and imprisoned in the tower of Nonne. La Fin applied to cardinal du Perron, who had formerly been his friend, to procure him the favour of being carried into France and tried there, if it appeared that there were any just grounds for complaint against him, or, if not, that he should be set at liberty; and du Perron intreated my interest with the king, in favour of la Fin's request.

The letter which, of all that I received from the other side of the Alps, deserves most notice, is that which the pope took the trouble to write to me, and of which, being very long, I shall only give the substance here. As in appearance the pope wrote to me on the subject of my brother, he began with praising, in the highest terms, his conduct, his piety, and his behaviour, full of respect and deference for all the cardinals, and himself, before he was advanced to the pontificate. From this his holiness passed to the regret he felt, that the obstacles I raised to my conversion hindered him from re-

in the most advantageous terms of that ambassador, in his letter to the king, of the 10th December, 1601, in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d December, 1602, and in some others.

signing himself as openly as he would otherwise have done to the friendship he had for me. His piety and his zeal furnished him a thousand motives to persuade me to change my religion; he assured me, that if he were not withheld by the station he filled, he would, without hesitation, come into France, and labour himself to convert me: he proposed for my imitation the examples of the ancient counts of Flanders, my ancestors, particularly that of Saint-Alpin de Bethune, for whom he had been told I had a great veneration: to these he added the examples of the first saints, and most illustrious kings of France; which naturally introduced the eulogium of the present king, and afterwards that of Clement VIII, on account of the services I had rendered this pope, for which he thanked me with great warmth of affection, as well as for all the good offices which the apostolical legates and nuncios of his predecessors and his own had received from me. This brief, which was every where filled with pathetic exhortations to change my religion, concluded with the most ardent prayers for that event.

I answered this obliging letter with all the respect and deference it deserved, without saying any thing upon the article of my change of religion: I was satisfied with praising the virtues and great qualities of his holiness, with assuring him of my profound respect for his person, my readiness to serve him, and ardent desire to be useful to him: my letter was entirely filled with the most grateful acknowledgments for the sentiments he professed for me, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity; and, without affecting my religion, I forgot no instance of respect due to the character of a sovereign prince, and to that in particular which a

whole church gives to the pope; and therefore did not scruple to make use of the expression of kissing his feet; which doubtless would have displeased my brethren the Protestants. Paul V, upon his receiving this letter, said publicly, that it gave him more pleasure than any thing which had happened during his pontificate: he read it twice over successively, saying each time, that I had done him too much honour: he lavished many encomiums upon the style and turn of expression, and said, that my praises of him had robbed him of some of those he had designed to give me. He was eager to thank me by a second brief, if du Perron himself had not opposed an excess of kindness which might have produced some inconvenience to me. This cardinal was witness of the pope's exclamations in favour of me; for my letter being written in French, he was sent for by his holiness to interpret it. Du Perron still continued to reside in Rome, which drew him into very considerable expenses; he observed to me, that, in the space of one year only, he had laid out above twenty thousand crowns, in the expenses of his journies, his entry, the conclave, furniture, and habits for himself and his household: all which had reduced him to such necessity, that he intreated me to oblige the farmers of his abbey of Lire to pay him, they having refused to make their usual remittances, under pretence of an arret of council relating to the claims he had upon certain woods.

All the rest of Italy began to entertain the same favourable dispositions for France as the holy see, except the duke of Savoy, who was still influenced by the Spanish policy, as may be conceived by the new intrigues carried on this year for the duke's interest, by a man

named Chevalier. With regard to Spain, France still continued upon its former footing with her; they were at peace indeed, but that peace was clouded with disgusts, and embittered by reciprocal complaints.

III. The negociations which had commenced between the Spanish court and the states of the United Provinces not succeeding, hostilities were renewed as soon as the season permitted them to take the field. The king of Spain sent to the Swiss Cantons, to demand a passage through their territories for the troops he sent into Flanders, that they might avoid taking their rout by Pont de Grésin, which would have greatly retarded their march. To obtain the grant of this request, he told them, that his troops should pass through their states by twenty at a time, and that their number should not exceed two thousand. He added, however, another thousand afterwards. The king, when he received this advice from Caumartin, believing that Spinola, who was to command their troops, would take the same route, thought it would not be impossible for prince Maurice, at the head of a party of French scouts, to seize upon this general's person, "which," said Henry, "will be "worth one victory." He wrote to me to communicate this hint to Aërsens, and through him to the prince of Orange; but I was informed, almost immediately afterwards, by a Spanish courier, who passed through Paris in his way to Flanders, that Spinola had altered his route, and would arrive in Paris in three or four days: which produced such a change of measures, that his majesty thought himself obliged to render his passage as secure to him as if he passed through the French territories. Spinola requesting the honour of an audience of his majesty, this prince believed that he had orders to make

him some new proposals. This, however, was an inference not made by me; and when Henry mentioned it to me, I replied, that Spinola, thinking the road through Paris the shortest as well as the securest, he conceived it his duty at the same time to pay his respects to his majesty; and that I was persuaded he would talk to him only of general things, though perhaps he wished to have it otherwise believed in Flanders: accordingly it fell out just as I had imagined.

Spinola divided his army into two bodies; he gave the command of one to count de Buquoy,* with orders to pass the Rhine with it between Cologne and Bonne, where he afterwards threw up intrenchments to hinder other troops from attempting this pass. Whatever was the design of the Spaniards by this work, it ought to have roused the German princes from their lethargy. The other body Spinola led towards Friesland, where the allied army followed him a long time. The report which was spread in July of this general's death, was no better founded than that of his being beaten, which prevailed some time afterwards. It was foreseen that he had a design upon Linghen, although this was a very strong place; and accordingly he marched thither and invested it. By means of a mole which was cut by prince Maurice, Spinola was himself besieged in his quarters, and his trenches laid under water; so that it was believed he would be obliged to abandon his enterprise; in which case it might be expected, that the prince would besiege and carry the fort Patience. Yet, notwithstanding this, Linghen surrendered in September, which was all that was done this campaign. Spinola was, on the 24th of September, still before the place he

* Charles de Longueval, count of Buquoy.

had taken, and had carried his views no farther than to put himself out of a condition to be attacked. The troops of both parties were greatly diminished; prince Maurice, on his side, threw succours into Coevorden and Breton, which covered and secured Friesland. Du Terrail, in the mean time, at the head of some supplies sent him by Spinola, attacked and surprised Bergen-op-zoom, but he was repulsed with some loss. This man was a French officer, and one of the seditious cabal; he thought proper to retire to Antwerp, and offered his services to the archdukes. His majesty was not so much offended with this procedure (although he had promised him, in a letter he wrote expressly for that purpose, that he would do nothing contrary to his duty) as he was for his having corrupted Dunnes, the younger Nangis, and Chef-boutonne, who, it was reported, were preparing to go thither with a whole company. A footman belonging to du Terrail was arrested in Auvergne, whither he brought some packets, but all of little consequence. He endeavoured to prevail upon his wife to come to him in Antwerp, by highly extolling the friendship, and civility he received there. The same example had been set by Saint-Denis-Mailloc, and some other gentlemen, who had offered their services to the archdukes; in which they certainly neither acted like good politicians, nor dutiful subjects.

This was but one of the least causes of complaint which Henry had against Spain. The support which that crown gave to the French mutineers; the part she had in their meetings at Limosin and Perigord; the enterprises which, in concert with them, she meditated upon the towns and coast of Provence; were grievances of a higher nature: and, all well weighed together, his ma-

jesty was of opinion, that he ought to spare himself the trouble of making them useless reproaches, or of doing himself justice by such means as would have given the Spaniards reason to reproach him in their turn: he was even more solicitous about the strict observation of the last agreements he had made with them on trade, than, after such a conduct, they could have expected. Captain Yvon Baudelonis brought a Spanish vessel into Rochelle, which the commander alleged was Dutch, and belonged to the prince of Orange: the Rochellers thought it their duty to acquaint the king with it, who, in his answer, praised their conduct, quoted to them the article of the treaty on that subject, which was in express terms, and caused the same satisfaction to be given to Spain which her ambassadors could have demanded.

The council of Madrid, struggling between their natural haughtiness on one side, and a consciousness of their own weakness and the need they had of our assistance on the other, knew not in what manner to behave to us: the same spirit actuated them in all their proceedings, and made them, at one time, endeavour to disunite us from the States; at another, to complain vehemently, that, under a pacific appearance, with respect to them, we acted as their real enemies. They afterwards affected a strict correspondence with England: but none of their artifices succeeded. The king, secure in the secret knowledge of his own strength, despised their threats; and myself in particular was too well acquainted with the disposition of the king of England, to believe that he would ever do more for them than he could be prevailed upon to do for us.

They were, besides, upon such ill terms with his Britannic majesty, that it was not possible for them long to save these appearances; for as they never staid a considerable time in any country, without giving proofs of that spirit of cabal which they exercised throughout all Europe, James had notice of some of their secret practices in his dominions, which inflamed him with rage against them. Indeed there needed no less than such a discovery to recal this prince to his first engagements with me, which had suffered some injury during the following years, by that fatal prejudice in favour of pacific measures which I have already mentioned, or rather by a real timidity. Beaumont, whose embassy was at its close, was surprised to find James resume this subject himself, and talk to him in terms very different from those he commonly made use of. He gave him letters for Henry and for me, and likewise a verbal charge, that when he rendered an account of his negociation to the king of France, he should insist particularly upon that article which regarded the succession to the empire, which was what he dwelt upon most in his letter to Henry: he exhorted him to join from that moment with him in endeavours to restore to the electors, before the death of the present emperor, the freedom of election, with all their other rights; and effectually to exclude the son, brother, or most distant kinsman of his imperial majesty, from a possibility of gaining the empire, by preventing any one of them from being named king of the Romans. And, lastly, to have it decreed, that the person, whoever he might be, who was to succeed the emperor, should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia.

Beaumont, when, at his return to Paris, he executed the commission given him by his Britannic majesty,

told the king that he had a letter from this prince for me, which, as I was then at Châtelleraut, his majesty opened. He was desirous of trying if this new policy would find any favourers at court; and for that purpose he communicated this scheme of king James with regard to the empire to two or three of his ministers, but with some reserve, and by way of consulting them upon it, taking care not to give them any hint of his great designs. On this occasion Henry found no flatterers: there was not one of them who did not give a proof that he was capable of opposing a scheme which appeared to him unreasonable and unjust. Henry stopped there, and waited for my return, to examine it more closely with me. But as this conversation turned upon many particulars, which appeared of such consequence to his majesty, that he made me swear not to discover it to any person whatever, that oath obliges me now to silence.*

* I do not know whether the uncertainty wherein this prince for some time remained, whether he ought not to get himself declared emperor, was not at least a part of this secret; he even thought it necessary to submit this design to the examination of his three ministers, whom he called together to give their opinions on it, as appears from the 8474th vol. of the MSS. in the king's library, where their deliberations on this matter are related at large. It is remarkable, that those three, scarcely in any one instance, happened to be of the same sentiments: in the present case, one advised him to get himself elected emperor; the second dissuaded him from it; and the third (more favourable to the house of Austria) would have persuaded him to act in favour of the archduke Matthias. "The king," adds the author, "who had attentively listened to this last, rose up, and open-"ing the window to let in the fresh air, raised his eyes and hands towards "heaven, and said aloud, 'May it please God to form and create in my "heart the resolves I ought to take on what you have said, and may I "execute them! adieu, gentlemen, I must take a walk.' Thus ended this "conference." Though this project did not absolutely clash with his grand design, there is nevertheless a reasonable foundation for doubting whether he actually ever formed it: it is highly probable that the whole was only a

Henry, when he gave me my letter from king James, read it to me himself: his Britannic majesty there informed me of the proposal which he had enjoined Beaumont to make to the king, and represented to me the interest I had in supporting it, in a manner which, though general, had nevertheless so direct a view to the reflections I had made to him on this subject, that I could not doubt but he would, from time to time, be more convinced of the reasonableness and utility of that plan of policy I had sketched out to him. I shall not repeat the assurances of friendship and esteem with which this letter was filled. Beaumont was commissioned to make me many more in his name: neither was he forgot. King James bestowed so many praises upon his personal merit, and his skill in business, as raised him highly in Henry's esteem. If this prince had been still ignorant of the confidence his Britannic majesty placed in me, his letter was sufficient to convince him of it: he indeed appeared much pleased with it, and commanded me to cultivate his friendship carefully; a command which I received with great cheerfulness.

We have now seen the political state of almost all Europe, except Germany; there are perhaps some observations still to be made upon the several Germanic cantons; but that little which is necessary to be known with respect to our affairs, will mix itself imperceptibly with what I have to say of the seditious cabal in France. This article will lead us into sufficient length, as it was the occasion of my journey into Poitou this year, and of

feint, concerted between him and the duke of Sully, to put his council on a wrong scent, in regard to the great armaments he was making: the count of Beaumont, his ambassador at London, according to Siri, ibid, 166, endeavoured to inspire him with this notion.

his majesty's to Limosin; which took up four of the finest months of the season.

The reader has, doubtless, ere this, reflected upon the extravagance of an association, composed indifferently of Roman Catholics and Protestants; the Roman Catholics, Spaniards, and the Protestants, French: a party acting upon interests so opposite, that nothing but continual violence could conciliate them; a body of which the duke of Bouillon was the head, and Spain the soul. In this slight view it appears so singular and monstrous, that the reader cannot apprehend any dangerous consequences from a confederacy so ill assorted. I, indeed, had always the same opinion of it: but as all parties which engage in repeated acts of disobedience against the sovereign cannot but be very prejudicial to the state, even supposing that they are disappointed in their principal aim, it must be acknowledged, that good policy requires we should make use of every method to hinder them from forming, or, when formed, to ruin them: the disaffected were in this case; they had neither prudence in their resolutions, nor much appearance that they would ever produce any worthy to be feared. However, as it was not fit to suffer such attempts to be made with impunity, his majesty neglected none of the informations he received, and which this year were more numerous than ever. Murat, lieutenant-general of Riom, wrote to me in the beginning of March, that he had very lately been informed of some important particulars, for the truth of which, although he could not answer, yet he thought himself obliged to communicate them to me; and that I might be better able to judge of them, the same person from whom he received them was the bearer of his letter.

As soon as I began to examine this man, I perceived, from the first questions I asked him, that his deposition would involve so many persons of the highest quality at court, that, without going any farther, I judged it of consequence enough to require that his majesty should be present at his examination. The king was then at Saint-Germain; I wrote to him, and marked in cyphers which he only understood, the names of those persons: he came to Paris immediately, to examine this informer himself, who assured him, that all those persons (and he named them) held correspondences in the chief cities on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, all which he specified, namely, Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, Blaye, and some others; that the count d'Auvergne was upon the point of making an attempt upon Saint-Flour when he was arrested; that all these secret practices were favoured by Spain, and the money distributed for that purpose, furnished by that crown. According to this man, the conspirators had already received several thousand pistoles from the Catholic king, expected still more, and even depended upon some supplies of troops; which, however, he said, would not be sent, until they had openly declared themselves enemies of the state, by the invasion of those places before-mentioned, and of many other maritime forts.

The truth of these accusations appeared very doubtful, from a circumstance which, it is apparent, did not escape Murat; and this was, that the informer had been a domestic of Calvairac,* in whose house he might indeed have heard some conversation on these subjects:

* John de Sudrie, baron of Calvairac, a gentleman of the province of Querci.

but why advance as certain, what had been there proposed as merely possible? He had received some bad usage from his master, and doubtless the desire of revenge stimulated him to this proceeding: what cannot that motive do, joined to the hope of gain? which, it was well known, was so much the greater, as the depositions which were made, appeared of more consequence to his majesty. There needed not so many considerations to induce him to aggravate matters beyond the truth.

IV. I can, with much more certainty, relate what passed in the synods and other particular assemblies, which were held by the Protestants in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and the neighbouring provinces. In these assemblies, a spirit of revolt and mutiny always prevailed: among other very bold proposals, it passed by a majority of voices, that his majesty's permission should be asked to call a general assembly of the Protestants, without explaining to him the motive of this request, or the subject to be treated of in the assembly. The king, to whom their petition was actually presented, did not refuse to comply with it, but declared (as he had a right to do) that he would prescribe to them the place, the matter, and form of this assembly, and send thither a person to represent himself: Châtelleraut was the place he appointed,* and myself the person who was to appear there, with a commission, to take care of his majesty's interests. The Protestants, those, I mean, who fomented the seditions in this body, would rather, I believe, have have had their request denied, than granted upon such conditions; they alleged, that, if I joined the title of the king's representative to the

* Life of du Plessis Mornay, b. II.

quality of governor of the province in which this assembly was to be held, nothing could shield them against the authority I would not fail to arrogate to myself. It may be imagined that, at this time, my brethren expected less favour from me than the most abhorred papist.

The method which the disaffected had recourse to, was to present another petition to his majesty, signed by two or three hundred persons at least, in which they declared, that, upon more mature deliberation, they found it necessary to intreat he would defer calling this assembly. As soon as Henry was informed of this disposition of the Protestants, he had expected to receive another petition from them, and in a letter which he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated March the 30th, he desired I would advise him what to do upon this occasion: I had received the same information as his majesty, and used my utmost endeavours to discover the true state of things; for which purpose, the journey I had taken the preceding year into Poitou was of great service to me: however, nothing appeared to me very positive, except that three or four of the most seditious amongst them had endeavoured to raise some disturbance, but with so little success, that the fires they had kindled evaporated in smoke. I may venture to affirm, that my letters and discourse to the least prejudiced persons in the party, with my solicitude in other respects, had greatly contributed to reduce matters to this point. It was upon this that the advice and the answer the king demanded of me turned.

It is certain at least that his majesty never heard more of this second petition which had made so much noise, and by that he was able to guess the nature of

all these other reports: but he still continued to receive in the beginning of April, so many new informations, and those of such consequence, and in appearance so well founded, that he suffered himself to be driven along with the torrent. It was reported, and that even by the first president of Toulouse, and many other persons in Guienne, that the Protestants, both in that province and in Languedoc, had uttered many disrespectful speeches against his majesty: they added, that these people had resolved to send a deputation to prevail upon him to recal his grant for holding the assembly at Châtelleraut. In another letter, dated April 7, Henry ordered me to come to him the day after Easter, to assist him in taking a resolution upon these new letters, and to be present at the reception of the Protestant deputies; and lastly, to explain to them his intentions in such a manner, as became his majesty to use with subjects who, in some measure, presumed to give laws to their sovereign. It is certain, that, although the king had been willing to take the trouble of doing this himself, he was not in a condition; for, during this whole month, he was afflicted with frequent returns of the gout, which had obliged him to have recourse to a remedy that never failed: this was a proper regimen, which he observed with great strictness during part of the month of May. Of all his council, he had no one about his person but Sillery, and him his majesty did not think fit for such a commission.

All these circumstances I relate from Henry's letter, which he concluded with telling me, that he would permit me to return to Paris as soon as this affair was terminated. In my answer, which I wrote to this prince while I attended his orders for my departure, I repre-

sented to him two things, to which, in my opinion, no reply could be made; and these were, that if his majesty would not believe, what however was absolutely certain, that all those informations which were given him, either with great mystery or great noise, were nothing but the murmurs of some persons hired expressly for that purpose in the provinces, he was then much to blame to suffer his peace to be thus disturbed, when it was in his own power to reduce these rebels to silence. It was upon these transactions, that my enemies suggested those suspicions of me to his majesty, which produced that disgust I have given an account of in the former book: and it may easily be imagined, that while that disgust continued, he had no inclination to choose me either for his confidant, or his agent with the Protestants. My return to favour happened in the manner I have already related: he told me, that he could not give a more convincing proof of his being perfectly cured of all his suspicions, than by confirming me in the employment he had at first destined for me. I intreated him to send any other person rather than me to Châtellerault, invested with his authority, because I was apprehensive of affording, without designing it, some new matter for calumny: but Henry reasoned in a quite different manner; he believed, that, after what had passed, he owed to himself, to me, and to my accusers, such an incontestable proof of his good opinion of me, as the showing me to the public in a post, wherein the sacrifice he expected I should make him of my nearest interests, would set my innocence in the clearest point of view, and silence all malice and detraction; and added graciously, that my enemies themselves had just put him upon his guard against

their insinuations, therefore I had nothing to fear. Then, after twice embracing me, with all his usual expressions of tenderness, he ordered me to return to Paris, to put all affairs in such order, that they might receive no prejudice from my absence; to draw up memorials of all those which related to my commission; and to compose myself the instructions which I was to receive in writing from his hand, and with the consent of his council.

The king, in the mean time, went to pass part of June at Saint-Germain. In the beginning of this month, a defluxion of humours fell upon his foot,* which he hoped to disperse by the exercise of hunting, taking the precaution to have his boot cut open upon the part affected: while this fit lasted, he was not able to apply to any business, although, as he wrote me word, the preservation of one half of his kingdom should depend upon it. When his disorder was abated he returned to Paris, where he prepared for his journey to Monceaux, after giving all the necessary orders for my departure.

I put down on paper all the questions I desired to be resolved, with regard to the several parts of my function as representative of the king; the answers to which were to make up the ground of the instructions upon which I had just agreed with his majesty. This

* "I went to the arsenal," says Henry IV, speaking of one of his fits of the gout, "with my wife; M. de Sully said to me, 'Sire, you have money "and never see it:' which really is true enough; for I am satisfied with "knowing I have money, without amusing myself with the pleasure of "looking at it. We went together to the Bastile, and he showed us what "was doing there: I assure you, at that instant I was attacked by the gout, "which brought to my mind the proverb, 'Those who have the gout have "riches." Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 613.

paper I sent to Villeroi and Fresne, who returned it with answers to each question, adding, that if I found them satisfactory, I might reduce them to such a form as I judged proper. I was resolved to have two of these papers, one more general, and the other in the form of a particular memorial, joined to the former: these two papers regulated the manner in which I was to speak and act with the Protestants, as I am going to show.

Upon the first view, the occasion of the assembly at Châtelleraut did not appear of such importance as it really was, either with respect to the king or the Protestant body, being granted for no other purpose than to examine the deputies sent by this body to his majesty, the term of whose offices was expired, and to appoint others to succeed them, an affair which did not require so solemn an assembly as this was likely to be. But, upon a closer examination, we shall find, that the real aim of some of the chief heads of the Protestant party, was to take advantage of this assembly, to extend their rights, and to procure the grant of new favours and privileges; a design which his majesty could not better return, than by seizing likewise this opportunity to recal them, with more solemnity, to the observation of the old regulations, the wisdom and utility of which were sufficiently evinced by the effects they had produced; and, instead of suffering them to be infringed, to give them new force, and exact a more strict obedience to them; so that after this, the Protestant body in France being persuaded of the rectitude of the king's intentions, and of his firm resolution to maintain his rights, must either resolve openly to despise his authority, or return with sincerity to their duty: this was the principal point of my commission.

To attain this end, I was enjoined to fix their view principally upon the edict of pacification issued at Nantes, as a fundamental piece, which might serve them equally for a rule to judge of their conduct towards the king, and of his towards them. I was to show them, that this edict, which had suffered so many misinterpretations, being the basis of their liberty, the proof of their fidelity to their king, of their attachment to the public good, and of those sentiments which their religion itself ought to inspire them with; if they observed it exactly, they would neither swerve on one side or the other, any more than Henry had done, who had religiously fulfilled all the obligations it had laid upon him. The free exercise of their religion, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates and employments, the gentleness of the government, the tranquil but solid situation of affairs, daily confirmed and strengthened the security of those promises made by the prince, well known by a long train of effects; and lastly, by the satisfactory answers he had given to every thing of importance expressed in their memorials; all these were so many pledges of faith in him, which the Protestants ought to return by such instances of submission and gratitude, as a good and indulgent prince has a right to exact from his subjects: their own interest likewise made it necessary for them to follow this line of conduct, since, if they justly considered the true state of things, it was they only who ran any risks by an infraction.

The inference to be drawn from all these considerations, and which I was ordered to represent to the assembly, was, that they ought to appear far from having a design of demanding that any alteration should be

made in the edict of Nantes: such as that of being empowered to choose themselves a head, either within or without the kingdom, any other than the king himself, who merited that title from them on many accounts. As it could not be foreseen what other demands the Protestants would bethink themselves of making, they left it to me to choose proper arguments either for refusing or eluding them: I was only ordered to signify to them in plain terms, that for the future they must not expect such general assemblies would be permitted; and that this, which his majesty had consented should be held, to instruct them altogether in their duty, and to exhort them to fulfil it, should be in the place of that which they had resolved, in the last synod of Gap, to entreat his majesty to grant them.

The reasons for this cessation of extraordinary assemblies were sufficiently plain; for they were convened either on account of some affairs relating to the discipline of the church, some matters of law and police, or lastly, for some favour they wanted to obtain of the king: for the first, the Protestants have their provincial synods, upon which his majesty made no encroachment by abolishing the extraordinary assemblies. All he demanded with respect to them, and certainly nothing could be more just, was, that they should confine their deliberations to religious affairs; whereas, under this pretence, they often treated of such as related merely to the civil government. If the design be to settle something relating to the administration of justice and the police, there is no reason for excepting them from the general rule, by which all controverted matters of those two kinds are referred to the tribunals of the judges, and the ordinary magistrates; and lastly, those which are matters of fa-

vour, and depend merely upon the king's indulgence, are to be treated by way of petition and supplication: nothing is more useless than those great expenses and commotions, which an extraordinary assembly occasions, for an affair in itself of little importance.

There was another reason for suppressing these assemblies, which, although I cannot disguise, I may soften a little by barely saying, that they often gave occasion for judgments not very favourable for the Protestant party; for the public are willing enough to shut their eyes upon wise and prudent determinations, though not to the intrigues of the disaffected who, in these tumultuous assemblies, remain confounded with persons more equitable, but whose proceedings are less taken notice of. If it should happen that any of these articles, or others of the same nature, were contested at Châtelleraut, it was left to me to put an end to them in whatever manner I judged best: and I was even permitted to take those advantages which the profession of one common faith afforded me, to merit their confidence and engage their votes: it was only in cases of obstinacy and declared disobedience that I was obliged to inform his majesty, and suspend all resolutions, till I had received his orders; as likewise not to suffer the assembly to break up without leave.

With respect to the article of the deputies, it is necessary to inform the reader, that the Protestants always kept two persons of their party at court, one for the ecclesiastic order, the other for the secular; they were to treat with his majesty's ministers, or with the prince himself, upon all affairs necessary to be communicated to him, and to receive his orders concerning them. These

deputies entered upon this office by election, which was renewed every three years, when others succeeded to their place. If we go back to the source of this institution, we shall not find that the Protestants had any legal title to this pretended right of residence and nomination of the deputies, which they asserted so strenuously; it was not mentioned in the edicts, nor even in the writings that contained these private articles, which were sometimes separate from the treaties; it was only a custom merely tolerated, and first introduced on account of the resistance some sovereign courts made to registering the edict of Nantes, and only to be continued till that was done. However, his majesty had no inclination to deprive the Protestants of this privilege: all he required, and this was one of the principal points of my commission, was that, for the nomination of these deputies, they should adhere to one of those two methods prescribed by him to their own deputies, when they desired leave to hold the assembly, and if possible, to the second, by which his majesty expected that the Protestants should present to him the names of six persons chosen from their body, out of which he should name two who were most agreeable to him.

It might possibly happen, that the heads of the party would endeavour to elude those regulations which his majesty proposed to get received in the assembly, and for that purpose affect to confine themselves to this single question; an artifice I was likewise to prevent. As to the affair of Orange, which it was certainly expected would be brought upon the carpet (as indeed it was), I had orders to represent to them, that Henry had laboured in vain to manage it so as that this city, which

he could not refuse to restore to the prince of Orange, might by him be left to the French Protestants. All therefore, that could be done upon this occasion, was to prevail upon Maurice, that, in the room of Blaccons, who commanded there, and who himself desired permission to leave it, he would place a Protestant officer, as his lieutenant, whom they might oblige to take the oath of obedience to his majesty. I shall resume this affair in the sequel. Such were my general instructions, dated July 3d, 1605, and signed "Henry and Forget."

All the difference between these general instructions, and the particular memorial joined to them, consisted in this, that the latter made no mention of the declared object of the assembly, but was confined to some other questions which might probably be discussed there, and tended to prevent those designs from being effected which it was suspected the heads of the cabal would endeavour to get the multitude's approbation of. This detail, which was not inserted in the first writing, because there was a probability of its being needless, was, however, of great use to me; and it was upon that account, that I made a separate memorial of these instructions.

They imported, that I should not suffer the assembly, either in their debates or in writing, to advance any thing injurious to the pope, or to stir up again that trifling doctrine of antichrist, worthy of the synod of Gap, where it had taken birth; that no person should have a seat in the assembly in the quality of a deputy, from any individual whatever, not even from Lesdiguieres himself; that they should not, as they had done in that synod, receive letters from foreign princes,

particularly from the duke of Bouillon. It seemed of importance to his majesty, that an ungrateful subject, such as Bouillon, should be publicly known to have rendered himself unworthy of any favour from his sovereign. The manner in which others, who might be ranked in this class, should behave in the assembly, was to regulate the treatment they were to receive from me.

If the quality of president of the assembly, which his majesty earnestly wished they would confer upon me, and which, on this occasion, he would not have been offended with me for accepting, should not be sufficient to give weight to what I said to them, I was to join to it the authority of governor of the province: and, as opportunities offered, and the disposition of their minds required, I might give them to understand, that the king was not ignorant of the designs of the seditious Protestants; provided that from thence they did not conclude, he was informed of the places where they were carried on.

There was so much the more appearance that the article of the cautionary towns given to the Protestants would be discussed, as the term, to which the possessions of these places was prolonged by his majesty, was now nearly expired; and if this should happen, I was to hint, either to the assembly in general, or to the deputies in particular, that provided his majesty found in them that readiness to comply with his measures which he required, he would willingly agree to a farther prolongation. I had orders not to give them any absolute assurances of this favour, but to mention it as what might be granted, and to promise I would obtain it of his majesty: although I had then in my possession the letter of grant for that prolongation, I only obliged my-

self to keep it secret till I received the king's commands to make use of it.

As to those fortified towns which had been given to the duke of Bouillon, and which from thenceforward were to have no share of the funds destined by the king for their maintenance, they were to be declared for ever excluded from that advantage, as likewise from all hope of ever being paid the sum promised by the edict of Nantes for the support of the garrisons. This sum, at that time, amounted to five hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred and thirty-two livres, of which ninety thousand livres had been already cut off. Nor were they to expect a new appropriation for those funds which had been assigned them. I had already received some petitions upon these several suppressions; to which I always answered, that I thought this proceeding of his majesty absolutely just. Lastly, by this writing I obliged myself to do nothing without Henry's advice, with whom, from that moment, I began a regular intercourse by letters, most of them very long, and several in cyphers. This memorial is dated July 4, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by Villeroi. Two days afterwards I set out on my journey.

Queen Margaret's residence at the castle of Usson gave her frequent opportunities of hearing news of the rebels; and as soon as she was informed that I was upon the road to Poitou, she thought herself obliged to acquaint me with all the particulars that had come to her knowledge; she had likewise some affairs of her own to impart to me, which I shall take notice of after I have related those which concerned my journey. For this purpose she came from Usson to Toury, from whence she wrote to his majesty, telling him the mo-

tive which had induced her to take this step, and the earnest desire she had to confer with me. I had left Paris, taking my rout through Rosny and Lavinville, two hours before the messenger who brought this letter for his majesty, and another for me arrived. The king seeing by his own letter, and by mine, what this princess desired of him, sent la Varenne after me on the 9th of July, to deliver me a letter from him, in which he told me, that he should be glad if I would visit queen Margaret, although I should be obliged to leave the road to Châtelleraut, and go back as far as Orleans. La Varenne gave me the letter queen Margaret had wrote, dated from Toury, July 7, by which I learned that this princess waited for me between Paris and Orleans: and that I might not fail to meet her, she sent Rodelle, her master of the horse, to desire I would come as far as Orleans, if I did not meet her before on the road: but she spared me the trouble of going so far; for upon my arrival at Cercote, I was informed that she was there likewise. My wife having accompanied me to Rosny and Lavinville, I brought her to Cercote with me, that she might take advantage of this opportunity to pay her respects to this princess.

It was still so early in the morning when I arrived at Cercote, that queen Margaret was not up; however, she ordered me to be admitted into her chamber, where I had the honour to confer with her a full hour before she arose. We resumed our conversation after she was dressed, and spent the whole day in the same manner. I shall not repeat the polite and obliging things this princess said to me: but what I had been told in general by Murat, concerning the civil factions, was minutely particularised to me by her and Rodelle. They named a

great number of persons of the first quality in Provence and Languedoc, and even some of the relations of the duke de Montpensier and cardinal Joyeuse, who were engaged in the conspiracy: some of these persons had been in the secret of marshal Biron's designs, and had afterwards joined themselves to those whom they found determine to pursue them. The revenge of this marshal was not one of their least motives: and they made use of the same methods he had done to excite a rebellion among the people. Besides those towns which, as we have seen, the conspirators endeavoured to surprise, they had views likewise upon Beziers, Narbonne, and Leucate. All these informations queen Margaret and Rodelle offered to support with evidences so clear, as would not, they said, leave me the least room to doubt of their certainty. I gave his majesty an exact account of what I had heard, in a letter I wrote to him from Cercote, dated July 14. I likewise sent him a list of the conspirators' names, as I had received it from queen Margaret and Rodelle, but I still persisted in my former opinion; nor, in all they had said to me, did I find occasion to alter it.

It is certain however, that these informations were too circumstantial and well supported not to merit some belief; for Rodelle had been himself of the cabal, and had left it, only through a reflection upon the rashness of all their measures. He told me, that La-Chapelle-Biron, and above thirty other gentlemen, of his acquaintance, had taken the same resolution to leave the cabal, and inform his majesty of all they knew, provided they could be sure of obtaining the pardon they would implore of him: that they had applied to him to take this step in their favour; and this he proved by the let-

ters they had written to him for that purpose. He added, that they had violent suspicions that my journey to Poitou concealed a secret design of seizing them: that they had prevailed upon queen Margaret to declare their intentions to me, and the earnest desire they had to efface the remembrance of their error, by their future fidelity and services to his majesty. All this was sufficiently clear, and I had no doubt of it remaining: but they endeavoured in vain to persuade me that the whole kingdom was in a flame, while I saw only an inconsiderable number of rash zealots, whom it was easy for his majesty to crush, whenever he would condescend to treat as a serious matter, a design which deserved only derision and contempt. For what remained, as often as I attempted to examine strictly into these informations, in appearance of such weight, and supported with such proofs, I always found that the false greatly exceeded the true.

In this, however, Henry was of an opinion contrary to mine: he thought the slightest disturbance within his kingdom merited all his attention, "because," said he, "the French were ever fond of novelties, and eagerly admit of every change." He often complained, in his answers to my letters, that some of his other ministers had as slight a notion of the present evil as myself: he was more confirmed in his apprehensions, when a memorial from Vivant fell into his hands, which exactly agreed with all that had been told me by queen Margaret and Rodelle. He dispatched orders immediately to Vivant, to send him the person from whom he received those informations; and to me, to make, in concert with Vivant, as soon as I arrived at Châtelleraut, the strictest inquiries into every thing that concerned this cabal.

Vivant being one of the Protestant deputies to the assembly, this quality might possibly render me suspected by him: the king, however, had taken care to obviate this difficulty, by writing to him that he might place an entire confidence in me. The letter passed through my hands, with a precaution that Vivant should not be named in the affair, lest, by losing his credit with the Protestants, he should not have it in his power to serve his majesty effectually with them. As to Rodelle, and the other gentlemen before mentioned, Henry approved of the resolution I had taken with queen Margaret to send them to him: he heard what they had to say, gave them his orders, and sent them back to perform the promises they made him, to labour there for his service. This prince never regretted any expense which these emissaries and informers put him to.

Some of them had intercepted the copy of a letter written to the duke of Bouillon, by one of his confidants, whom they suspected to be Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and brought it to the king: this perhaps was the cause of his increased vigilance. I shall give an account of this letter here, that the reader may be able to judge whether the inferences that were drawn from it at Monceaux were altogether just: it made part of the packet which Henry sent me from that place. Saint-Germain, or whoever this correspondent of Bouillon's was, by this letter endeavoured principally to persuade him, that it was necessary he should send some person in his name to the assembly of Châtelleraut, who might support his interests there; or write at least a letter, which his friends might produce. The very considerable part the duke acted among the Protestants, the necessity of proving his innocence, and the

advantage to be acquired from showing how much he suffered for the common cause, the general interest of the whole party, his own credit to be maintained with foreigners, the solemnity of this assembly, and the example of that of Gap, were so many motives which in the beginning of this letter were urged with the utmost earnestness to move him.

The rest was a confused mass of conjectures, inferences, and precautions, on the subject of this assembly; all intended to prove, that the Protestant church had nothing to hope or expect but from his efforts alone.

The author of this letter supposed, that Henry had totally forgot all his former promises; and that he openly sacrificed the Protestants to their most cruel enemies: as proofs of which, he alleged the connexion between the king's council and that of Rome, the immense sums which, he said, were expended to make a pope, the rejoicings for his election, and the favour the Jesuits enjoyed, sufficiently shown by the demolition of the pyramid. He afterwards considered what, in the present circumstances, might be the result of the assembly; and presaged nothing but misfortunes, as well on account of the timidity of the party, as the artifices the king would make use of to obtain his ends.

Here I began to appear upon the scene, and it may be easily guessed what sort of figure I made. According to the author of this letter, I had proposals to make, which could not fail of removing all difficulties; among others, that of prolonging the time for the possession of the cautionary towns. Saint-Germain hoped, contrary to his first hopes, or rather, to remove Bouillon's apprehensions, depended upon all my artifices with respect to the choice of the deputies failing, and reasoning his

own way upon the struggles he supposed I should have in my mind between my conscience, which could not yield to adopt the policy of the council, and my ambition, which would not suffer me to make the pope and the papists my enemies, he sometimes saw no probability that I would take upon myself a commission which I could not execute to the king's satisfaction, without betraying my religion, without exposing myself to unavoidable disgrace. He likewise saw nothing but obstacles and difficulties in such a commission, which I should never be able to surmount. As he did not know that his majesty, besides leaving the general places of security to the Protestants, would consent also that the individuals of that body should keep those they were at present in possession of; and believing that this circumstance alone was sufficient to alienate their affections, he triumphed in my perplexity and confusion: he alleged, that the king had said, the person whom he should send in his name to the assembly, would have nothing to do but to declare his will there. Upon these words, he affirmed boldly, that rather than go to any place in my government where the people would not pay me the honours I thought due to me, nor even allow me to be present at their consultations, I would find reasons to get myself dispensed with from taking that journey; or at the worst, if I should go, Saint-Germain engaged to the duke of Bouillon, that all my authority should not hinder the assembly from giving his letter a respectful reading, or his deputy an honourable reception.

The misfortune was, that the weakness of this duke's partisans was a point so generally known, that, notwithstanding all this show of confidence, and ostentation of

power, his friend was obliged to confess, that the coldness of the provinces, and the neglect of the party, with respect to him were very great. And having thus spared the duke's confusion by these softened expressions, he approved of the caution which Bouillon had been the first to advise should be used when he was mentioned, which was, not to make any demand for him in his name, which was the least liable to opposition; but confine themselves to remonstrances from the Protestant body in general, upon depriving him of his places, refusing him justice, his banishment, and the persecution he was exposed to on account of his zeal for his religion. He considered what danger might be apprehended from a letter written in this form to the assembly, and finding none, although they should even pay no regard to it, and supposing the worst, sacrifice it to the king, he exhorted the duke of Bouillon to write such a one, giving it as his opinion, that it should not be made public at first; but, being read on a sudden to the assembly, derive some advantage from those first emotions of compassion which it was likely to excite. He added, that the party would look upon it as a stroke of great consequence for the duke, if the letter, instead of being presented to the assembly by one single person, should be brought thither by the deputies from the upper and lower Guyenne, where his fortresses were situated; or that they should appear to have undertaken the commission of themselves, or, what was still better, by the orders of their provincials.

This was the letter which made so much noise at court. To the packet his majesty sent me, Sillery thought proper to add a letter from himself upon this subject alone. Sillery was the person whom Henry kept near

him, and who was then employed, as well in reconciling the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, at that time at variance with each other, as in the affair of Orange, which, according to the advices his majesty received from Lesdiguieres and others, was taking an unfavourable turn. When I read the copy of this letter to the duke of Bouillon, I was convinced that the court would take a false alarm at it. I saw nothing in the contents which did not confirm me in my opinion that the seditious party was very inconsiderable, careless, unsteady, destitute of all resources, and far from any intention to undertake any enterprise of importance; and that Bouillon, who had more experience than the rest, would not engage in such extravagant schemes as were successively proposed to him, schemes without order or connexion, and leading to no fixed end, since there was nothing but confusion to be expected from them. In a word, amidst that false courage which is inspired by great presumption, and notwithstanding that affectation of fine policy, I thought I could plainly perceive disunion among the members of this body, and despair in its leader. I therefore persisted in my former opinion, and declared my sentiments freely in the answer I sent to Monceaux; although, probably, by doing so, I rendered my sincerity a little doubtful: but I comforted myself by the reflection that those suspicions would at most, last only till the discovery of this mystery, which would be effected by the assembly at Châtelleraut.

As for the other assertions in this letter, I can assure the reader, that I never felt those struggles and perturbations of mind, which the writer of it, and many other persons, attributed to me upon the choice I was

to make, between serving my prince, and my religion; since, in reality, in this affair, I saw no foundation for making such an alternative. A common prejudice prevails among all sects of religion; a man is never supposed to be a sincere professor of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it obstinately, even in points where it is most visibly wrong. Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue might, by the author of that letter, and those who judged like him, draw upon me the epithets of false brother, deserter, and, if they pleased, traitor: however, it was not the approbation of such as those, that I proposed to obtain, but of persons who, of whatever party or religion they were, would, in their judgment of my conduct, preserve the balance of equity and disinterestedness. If ever religion admits of the assistance of policy, it ought to be of a policy pure, simple, and upright as itself; any other may indeed appear to serve it, but does not in reality, and, sooner or later, never fails to ruin it.

Having determined to be guided by no other principle in my transactions with the assembly, I thought I could not too carefully avoid all appearances of affectation or disguise in my conduct, that those who were influenced by an imprudent zeal, or actuated by a spirit of cabal, might have no hopes of gaining or seducing me: therefore, from the beginning, I showed myself solicitous to support, on this occasion, that character by which all France was to know how I would act on every other; that is, of a man as sincerely attached to the true principles of the Protestant religion, as incapable of drawing false conclusions which many of the Protestants did, or of approving their irregular proceedings. The speech I made at the opening of the assembly, which

lasted half an hour, was wholly calculated to produce this effect, without troubling myself to consider whether I would give pleasure or offence to the greatest number.

I began by representing to them, that, among so many persons blindly devoted to the will of the prince, his majesty would not have fixed upon a person to treat with them, whose unshaken constancy to his religion was so well known, if he was more solicitous to support or increase his rights, than to persuade their judgments, and gain their hearts: that this reason was sufficient to make them place an absolute confidence in all that I should say or do, since I certainly had not waited for this moment basely to betray my religion. But I declared to them, at the same time, that they must expect to see me as zealous for the interest of my prince, when it did not injure what I owed to my religion and the general good, since it was incumbent upon me to justify, to his majesty himself, the choice he had made of me; and to support, in the sight of the whole kingdom, the reputation of a prudent and upright minister; which I flattered myself I now enjoyed. I invited them to share this honour with me, observing, that here honour and good policy were the same. This point indeed I found most difficulty to persuade them of; and when they heard me assert, that their cautionary towns had no defence but their own good inclinations, they, instead of taking my words literally, looked upon them as a paradox, or a figure in oratory.

Nothing, however, was more certain: and to show the Protestants, that the first foundation of their policy was false, I entered upon the discussion of this principal point; that is, the keeping of their towns, in which they fancied their greatest strength consisted, and con-

cerning which, as I was informed, they were incited to make very earnest and very bold representations to his majesty. I showed them, that the great number of little paltry places which they held under this title, was so far from being advantageous to them, that they would hasten their ruin, if ever an attempt were made upon them by a king of France, the present king especially, to whom many of their officers were attached; because that not having any fortress so mean, or governor so inconsiderable, who would not pretend to the honour of making some resistance, it must necessarily happen, that their tolerable cities, which were about ten or twelve in number, would suffer greatly from this useless dispersion of their soldiers and ammunition, and from time to time fall into the hands of their enemies; I did not even except Lesdiguieres, their Achilles, provided that he waited for this extremity, to separate himself from them: in reality, without judging too rashly of this officer, it might be confidently asserted, that the only religion capable of fixing him, was that which could secure him in the possession of his riches, and the authority he had always exercised throughout his province. Some other proofs of his being but slightly attached to the doctrine of the Protestant church, might be produced. I am obliged to discover in this manner the real principles of Lesdiguieres, because it was one part of my commission, to show that the most secret dispositions of the party were not unknown.

The conduct of du Plessis was very different, but still more to be pitied: this man, in whom an ardent zeal for his party held the place of experience and military virtue, had taken it into his head to fortify his castle of Saumur, and did it in such a manner, that to defend it

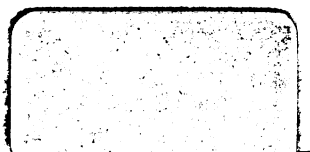
would require a garrison of eight thousand men, with ammunition in proportion. I desired to know where du Plessis would procure all this, should he be attacked unexpectedly; and added, that what I said to them was not by way of information, since I was not ignorant that they were condemned to know this truth, by the result of the deliberations in their provinces, as well as by their own losses; but only to show them, that the king's council reasoned justly upon their situation: and that if, notwithstanding this knowledge, they were left in peace, that consideration ought to increase their gratitude and affection for the prince their benefactor.

I then proceeded to acquaint the deputies with his majesty's intentions, in a manner that would admit of no doubt or equivocation: that they were for the future not to receive in their synods, or even in their houses, any deputies or letters from foreign princes, cities, communities, or French lords; namely, messieurs de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Lesdiguieres, de La-Force, de Châtillon, and du Plessis, because the king would not suffer any affairs of importance to be treated of in his kingdom, without his participation: that upon no pretence or reason whatever, they were ever more permitted to hold any assembly like those they had formerly held; but if they had any request to make to his majesty, they were to apply to the deputies, who were allowed to stay at court for this purpose, and that it should be expressed in the *cahier* of their province. I declared to them, that if they pretended, in this assembly, to take resolutions contrary to these orders, besides the other inconveniences to which they would expose themselves, they must expect to see me make use of all the power annexed to my commission, and all the authority granted

to a governor in his province, to bring them back to their duty. This was the substance of my speech to the assembly; leaving it to them to settle at leisure the affairs of the deputies, and the cautionary towns.

This speech, and particularly the declaration with which I concluded it, gave great offence to many deputies of the assembly; it occasioned several warm disputes in their private consultations, and four or five deputations to me: those whose interest it was that the assembly should not proceed to more essential affairs, desired no better than to waste the time in this kind of preliminary questions, and protracted them on purpose.

But with a little industry, and some address, I put an end to this useless prelude. The king highly resented their not choosing me president of the assembly; though afterwards, altering his opinion on that head, he had advised me not to accept of it: he thought that, upon several considerations, I merited this honour from them; and said publicly, with great resentment, that on this occasion the Protestants had given an equal proof of their disregard to the public good, and jealousy of me; but it is certain, that I was the first, and even the only one, who made any objection to it, and this for reasons which I wrote his majesty word I would tell him myself, and with which he would be satisfied.

END OF VOL. III.

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